# NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL

**MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA**

# THESIS

**ORGANIZATION FOR SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE MISSIONS**

by

Vlastimil Jánský

March 2005

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This thesis examines the role of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) among organizations dealing with security issues, such as the United Nations, the European Union, and NATO. This study further analyzes the OSCE commitments in the fields of human rights, democracy, rule of law, and national minorities. This analysis is performed in order to promote the OSCE to a broader public.

The thesis further analyzes and describes the origins of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and its development since 1975, when the Helsinki Final Act was signed by the Heads of State or Government of all participating States. The development of the international situation in Europe, the end of Cold War, and escalation of violence, especially in South Eastern Europe, Caucasus, and Central Asia, caused fundamental changes in the European, and subsequently, the world security environment. The CSCE identified and responded to this new situation, resulting in a dramatic growth of its own role in shaping a common security area. Consequently, the CSCE changed its name to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

However, some critics think that OSCE is a "dead" organization, lacking tangible results and the necessary "teeth." It is necessary to review the main ideas why the CSCE was established and to properly identify the role of the OSCE in the European Security Architecture. Therefore, the main part of the thesis focuses on the European Security Architecture, the OSCE itself, and the OSCE missions, three of which are detailed and evaluated as case studies.

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# ORGANIZATION FOR SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE MISSIONS

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
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# ABSTRACT

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# I. INTRODUCTION

## A. STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

This thesis examines the role of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), formerly the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), among other international security organizations and associations in a contemporary world security situation influenced by aggressive nationalism and international terrorism. This research focuses on OSCE's objectives arising from the basic documents adopted by Summits and its commitments. The thesis begins with a general overview of the European Security Architecture. It then describes the main and largest international organizations – UN, NATO, EU, and OSCE – which are dealing with the security issues not only in Europe but also from a general point view. After an overview of these major organizations and their roles, the thesis examines OSCE field activities to emphasize its practical efforts in solving problematic situations and crises, especially in post-war or post-conflict areas. Even though the OSCE is the world's largest security organization, covering territory from Vancouver (Canada) to Vladivostok (Russia), its work is not especially well known and one could believe that its existence is irrelevant. On the other hand, while it is known that the OSCE is not as politically or militarily strong as NATO or the EU, it does play a significant role in stabilization and consolidation of living conditions, reestablishing rule of law, rebuilding governmental and non-governmental institutions, and supporting media.

## B. METHODOLOGY

This thesis is based on primary and secondary sources. The primary sources include UN, NATO, EU, and OSCE documents relating the origin, development, new roles, missions, and proposed initiatives of each respective organization. Other primary sources include interviews with several authors dealing with the OSCE and the world security environment, as well as students studying at the Naval Postgraduate School. Secondary sources include works by political-military analysts in professional journals, newspapers, and other publications. In addition, materials from other organizations dealing with the security environment and conditions, e.g., the British American Security

Information Council (BASIC)[1], or the Ústav mezinárodních vztahů Ministerstva zahraničních věcí České republiky (the Institute of International Relations of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic)[2].

## C. CHAPTER OUTLINES

The thesis is organized as follows. The second chapter examines the European Security Architecture in a contemporary security environment. It includes a description of major security institutions and their origins, roles, tasks, and commitments and their involvement in peacemaking, peacekeeping, or peace building operations.

The OSCE, as an international organization, is examined and closely described in the third chapter. This chapter details the origins of the CSCE/OSCE and its development from Conference to Organization, its structure, commitments, and activities. It also discusses current developments within OSCE as an institution and its efforts to strengthen its position among other security institutions according to decisions of the last Ministerial Council Session in December 2004.

The fourth chapter analyzes OSCE's field activities, their competence and performance. The OSCE field activities play an increasingly important role in the practical OSCE performance and enforcement of OSCE decisions, monitoring behavior of local authorities, observing further development in the field of human rights, rule of law, democratization of society and many other activities. More specific evaluation in this chapter is focused on the OSCE missions to Balkan Countries – Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo.

[1] BASIC is an independent research organization that analyzes international security issues. BASIC in the United Kingdom is a registered charity No. 1001081; BASIC in the United States is a non-profit organization constituted under section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Service Code.

[2] Institute of International Relations of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic is an official governmental institution supporting the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs with statements, research, and analysis in the field of international relations.

# II. EUROPEAN SECURITY ARCHITECTURE

This chapter examines the European Security Architecture as a basic component of stability and security in Europe. First, it describes "security" as a term that should be evaluated from the individual actors' point of view as well as within its historical context. This chapter also deals with the main individual architectonic actors of European security, i.e., the United Nations, the European Union, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Each of these organizations is briefly described, starting with its origins, through its development and years of existence to its involvement in peace-making or peace-keeping operations, including a description of field activities conducted by the beginning of 2005.

The term "European Security Architecture" is based on several factors containing complex problems, approaches and achievements. In such a building architecture concept, the term architecture refers to how a new building will look or under which style an old building was erected. From the security point of view, it is necessary to ask the question: What does security mean? No available dictionaries provide a general definition of this category, but some dictionaries say that security is the quality or state of being, freedom from danger, freedom from fear or anxiety, freedom from the prospect of being laid off; [3] or security is safety from harm, a term that has different dimensions in psychology, public safety, defense and military matters, and information access; in finance, a security is a document representing an investment,[4] and many other explanations related mostly to ownership of property.

For some people, security means to be safe, without violence, in a house with police on the street, and this feeling of security is connected to their experience or training. For example, a lonely woman feels her way through the dark New York Central Park differently than a man trained in self-defense. Now, it is possible to recognize a similarity between the feelings of a world superpower and a little state or country. Not

[3] Merriam-Webster Dictionary Online. Internet, http://www.merriam-webster.com; accessed 11 January 2005.

[4] English-English Dictionary Online. Internet http://www.enetplanet.com/dictionary/dictionary.php; accessed 28 February 2004.

only are their perspectives different, but their definition of their security interests and visions are also different, and a perception of security might differ from state to state. From this point of view, security is a subjective term.

The meaning of security is also a historical concept.[5] Its value is perceived differently during the historical development of a political environment. Consequently, it is defined differently in different periods of time, for example, before the Second World War, during the Cold War, and especially after the end of the Cold War when the armed conflict in South-Eastern Europe appeared too close to western European democracies. A scale of security values depends on urgency and character of risks and menaces, which create criteria of security priorities.[6]

Therefore, the European Security Architecture could be considered a construction built from elements dealing with European security issues. These elements are national or international and governmental or non-governmental organizations and associations. As the goal of this thesis is to describe and popularize the OSCE as a beneficial organization through its performance of field activities, this research compares OSCE with three other organizations: the United Nations (UN), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the European Union (EU).

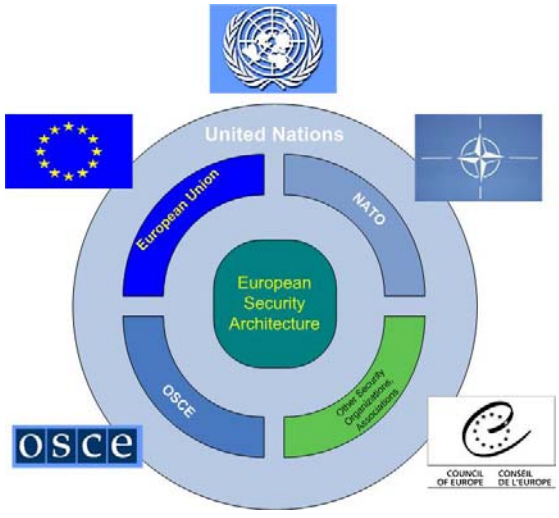


Figure II-1 Structure of the European Security Architecture

[5] Vladimír Leška, 21.

[6] Ibid.

## A. AN OVERVIEW OF THE EUROPEAN SECURITY ARCHITECTURE

Because contemporary security is an abstract term dependent on the current state of international relationships and development, it is necessary to emphasize that it is supposed to be evaluated or examined within actual historical contexts. The European security environment changed after the end of the Cold War in the late 1980s, as evidenced by the outbreak of civil wars in South Eastern Europe and Central Asia in the early 1990s. These events astonished most international organizations, who were unprepared to deal with them effectively and constructively, especially with those on European territories, close to Western democracies. Then, the terrorist attacks against targets on United States territory in September 2001 had a tremendous effect, not only on U.S. security systems but also on the accelerated transformation of different security organizations.

The European security architecture consists of several official, governmental organizations, as well as several non-governmental organizations and public associations, which bring together people with different ideas, education, or backgrounds, but with a common interest in defense and security issues.[7] Above these organizations and besides the United Nations (UN) as the global worldwide institution with delegated rights, power and responsibility to make decisions, e.g., collective actions to maintain international peace and security through its Security Council,[8] there are three main international institutions dealing with European defense and security issues: the European Union (EU) with its security body Western European Union (WEU), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). All of these main European security organizations respect the UN Security Council as the most highly positioned security decision making and sanctioning institution. Figure II-2 displays the membership of individual countries in different international organizations, including changes that occurred during 2004. The United Nations organization includes191 member states, OSCE associates 55 countries, NATO

[7] For example: the Association for Security, Defense, and Protection of Society and State, the Czech Republic; Jagello 2000, the Czech Republic.

[8] The UN Peacekeeping: What is peacekeeping? Internet, http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/faq/q1.htm; accessed 29 January 2005.

associates 26 countries, and EU associates 25 countries.[9] Although the Council of Europe (CoE), founded in 1949, is a part of the following figure, it is included because it belongs among the organizations dealing with human rights in Europe. It may seem to duplicate the role of the OSCE; however, Robert Barry explains that,

> For the most part these potential duplications are dealt with through coordination. For example, the EU does not observe elections in the OSCE AoR [Area of Responsibility]. The CoE has its observer delegations join with OSCE in issuing a single report. By and large the CoE does not have large field mission – in Bosnia they had two people to our 1500 OSCE as an organization.[10]

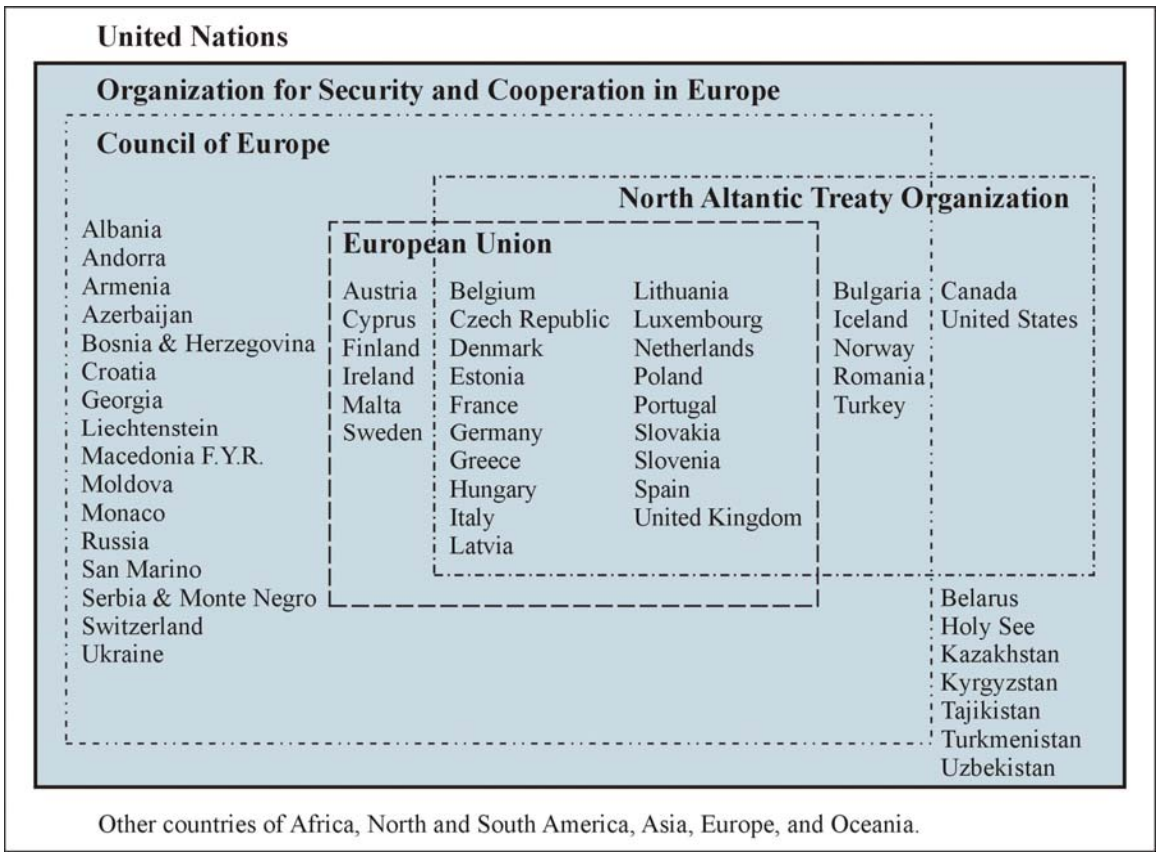


Figure II-2 Membership of Selected Countries in International Organizations

[9] List of member states available on Internet, accessed 13 January 2005:
UN web site http://www.un.org/Overview/unmember.html;
OSCE web site http://www.osce.org/general/participating_states/;
Council of Europe web site: http://www.coe.int/T/E/Com/About_Coe/Member_states/default.asp;
NATO web site http://www.nato.int/structur/countries.htm;
EU web site http://www.eu.int/abc/governments/index_en.htm.

[10] Robert Barry, e-mail message to the author, 13 January 2005.

After the end of the Cold War, security risks and challenges moved towards different directions than the bipolar world separation would have been imagined. Although military abilities and capabilities allow NATO to take a dominant position among these organizations, each has its own specific role. Within the European security model, it is necessary to maintain an organization such as the OSCE, which fosters an international and cooperative approach to security issues, because its members do not just follow obligations, but rather fulfill voluntarily accepted commitments.

For purposes of this thesis, relations among the international security organizations are simplified: they are divided according to their ability to conduct field operations and activities on the European continent. NATO, with its military ability, is able to wage "peace-making" or "peace-enforcement" operations. The UN is able to conduct "peace-building" or "peace-keeping" operations. Similarly, the EU is on its way to conducting "peace-keeping" operations, i.e., the EU operation "ALTHEA" in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is taking over a mission from NATO in December 2004[11] On the other hand, OSCE, as a purely civilian organization with diplomatic status in most host nation states, is able to manage missions helping affected areas, territories or countries with "rebuilding" national institutions, reconsolidation of their position within a society, validation of the legal and juridical systems, and many other missions, not “obligations” but “commitments,” both long and short term. In fact,

> OSCE is the only organization built on the concept of comprehensive security – that is that human rights and democratic development is central to any concept of security. OSCE does a number of military functions – see annex 1 A of Dayton for the OSCE’s role in military restructuring.
>
> All of these organizations do peacekeeping or peace enforcement, but in fact it is the member states that decide the rules of engagement … [in relation that] … the governments who supply the troops define how they will be used.[12]

The following Figure II-3, Conflict Cycle, illustrates the possible position and involvement of these international organizations within the evolution of conflict.

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[11] Europe Newsletter, Latest News, "Bosnia: the EU takes over from NATO." Internet, http://europa.eu.int/newsletter/index_en.htm; accessed 9 January 2005.

[12] Robert Barry, e-mail message to the author, 13 January 2005.

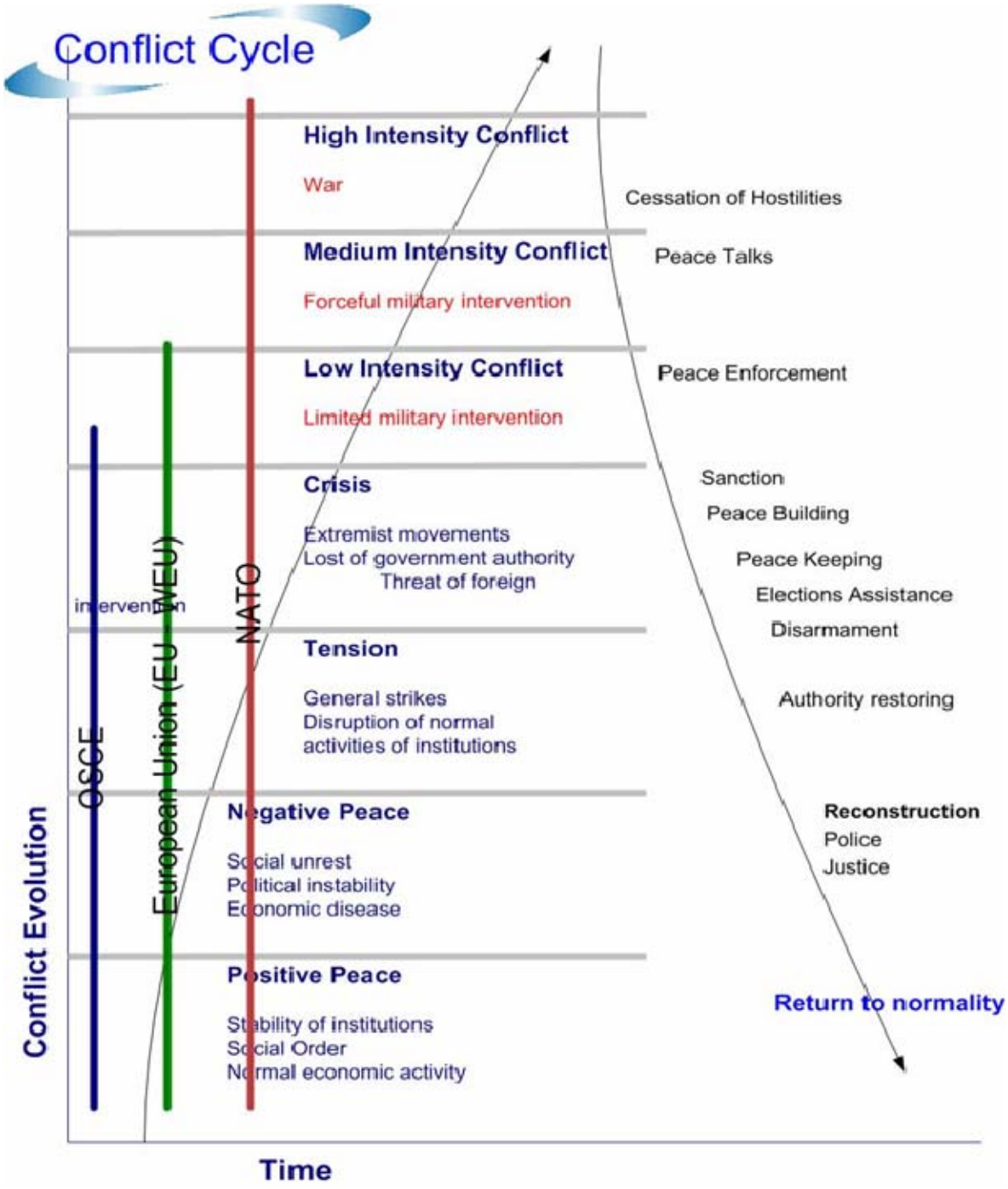


Figure II-3 NATO, EU, and OSCE Involvement in Conflict Evolution[13]

[13] The Conflict Cycle imagination is used with permission of Hans-Eberhard Peters, teaching professor, from studying material of NPS NS 3720 Course – European Security Institutions course.

## B. UNITED NATIONS

The founding day of the United Nations organization was 24 October 1945, at which time the five permanent members of the UN Security Council ratified the United Nations Charter: China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States. However, the foundation of the UN took place much earlier, e.g., when U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt, together with UK Prime Minister Winston Churchill, spoke of a future of "international collaboration in maintaining peace"[14] in August 1941. Although it is possible to consider the UN a successor to the former League of Nations, the truth is that the League of Nations, negotiated during the First World War and established in 1919, was simply dissolved after it was unable to prevent the genesis of the Second World War. The main idea in establishing the UN was to associate countries,

> which accept the obligations of the Charter and, in the judgement of the Organization, are willing and able to carry out these obligations. The admission of any such State to membership in the United Nations will be effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.[15]

Since establishment of the UN and the beginning of the Cold War in late 1940s, the UN General Assembly together with the UN Security Council has been almost the only place where representatives of two ideological blocs, East and West, officially met and discussed common agendas. Anti fascist coalition fighting against Hitler's Germany broke down and fell apart very soon after the end of Second World War because of the Soviet Union's non-credible foreign policy and Stalin's ruling ambitions. The year 1946 saw the end of broad international post-war cooperation in Europe and the Soviets persisted on their efforts to affect further development in Central and Eastern Europe, which led Europe and the entire world to an ideological separation and the beginning of the Cold War. In sum, the UN was established "in the aftermath of a devastating war to

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[14] The UN, Milestones in United Nations History. Internet, http://www.un.int/history; accessed 20 January 2005.

[15] The United Nations Charter, Chapter 2, Article 4. Internet, http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/index.html; accessed 19 January 2005.

help stabilize international relations and give peace a more secure foundation."[16] Besides political and practical UN endeavors, e.g., promoting democracy, human rights, self-determination and independence, or preventing nuclear proliferation or protecting the environment, the UN focuses on maintaining peace and security and making peace. For example, the conflict between North and South Korea in 1950 evoked the UN Security Council Resolution to help South Korea repel invasion from the north. Even though during the Korean War only "one-third of the UN members contributed forces,"[17] the international military units, led by the U.S. armed forces were, for the first time, assigned and waging military operations under the UN flag. Albeit the military activities in Korea were not purely international operations because "the commander was an American who took orders from Washington rather than from the U.N. secretary-general or any U.N. organs,"[18] they could be considered historically as the first international use of military forces to promote basic rights for independence in the modern world.

### 1. The United Nations System

The main UN bodies are described as the principal organs of the UN system. All UN member nations are represented in the General Assembly. Figure II-4 displays all principal bodies:

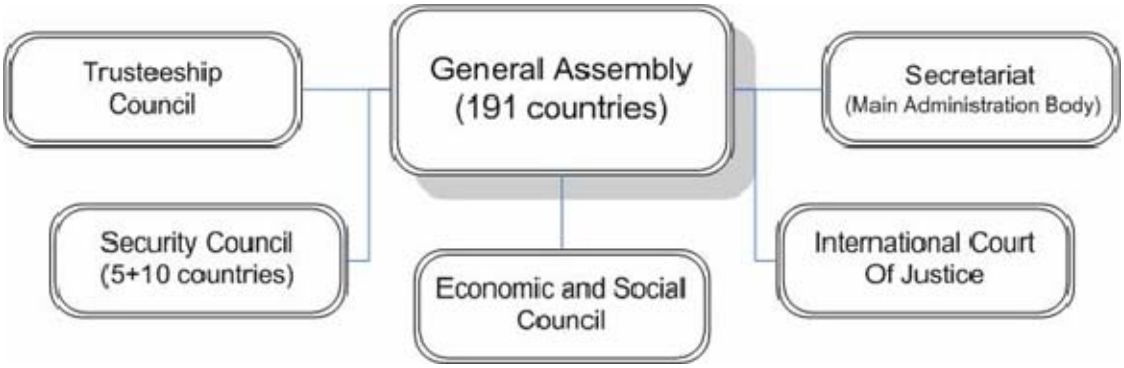


Figure II-4 UN Principal Organs (adapted from the UN organizational charts)

16 "About the UN History: Major Achievements of the United Nations." The article briefly names fifty samples of what the UN has accomplished since its foundation in 1945. Internet, http://www.un.org/aboutun/achieve.htm; accessed 29 January 2005.

17 Paul F. Diehl, 26.

18 Ibid.

The General Assembly is the main "deliberative organ of the United Nations."[19] It consists of representatives from all member states, each of which has one vote. Two-thirds of state representatives' votes are necessary to pass important decisions such as security issues, other decisions simply need a majority of votes. The primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security rests with the Security Council. While the Security Council deals with a complaint concerning a threat to peace, its first recommendation to the parties is to reach agreement by peaceful means. In some cases, the Council undertakes investigation and mediation itself, or it may appoint special representatives or request the Secretary General to deploy its special envoy. The Council is empowered to adopt a set of principles and measures for a peaceful settlement. The Security Council is comprised of five permanent members, each of them with veto power – China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Ten other UN member states attend and change Council membership on a rotating basis. The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) coordinates the work of the fourteen UN specialized agencies, ten functional commissions, and five regional commissions. It issues policy recommendations to the UN system and to member states.

> ECOSOC is responsible for promoting higher standards of living, full employment, and economic and social progress; identifying solutions to international economic, social and health problems; facilitating international cultural and educational cooperation; and encouraging universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.[20]

The Trusteeship Council consists of the five permanent members of the Security Council. Its major goals are to promote the advancement of the inhabitants of Trust Territories and their progressive development towards self-government or independence.[21] The International Court of Justice is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. The Court has a dual role: "To settle in accordance with international law the legal disputes submitted to it by States, and to give advisory opinions on legal

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[19] UN General Assembly: Background. Internet, http://www.un.org/ga/59/ga_background.html; accessed 30 January 2005.

[20] UN Economic and Social Council: Background. Internet, http://www.un.org/docs/ecosoc/ecosoc_background.html; accessed 30 January 2005.

[21] UN Trusteeship Council. Internet, http://www.un.org/documents/tc.htm; accessed 30 January 2005.

questions referred to it by duly authorized international organs and agencies."[22] All of the UN activities are administrated by the UN Secretariat led by the UN Secretary General. The UN Secretariat is composed of seventeen departments and offices dealing predominantly with daily agendas. Among these departments and offices, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations was established in 1992.

### 2. The UN Peacekeeping Missions

Since the UN was established and performed its first observer mission in Palestine – the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) – in June 1948, the UN has conducted fifty-nine peacekeeping operations or operations making or maintaining peace and security. The end of the Cold War brought further development and a more active approach towards the UN peacekeeping operations. Operating within a new cooperative environment the Security Council established larger and more complex UN peacekeeping missions, often to help implement comprehensive peace agreements between actors in intra-state conflicts. The UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) was created in 1992 to support this increased demand for complex peacekeeping and became a part of the UN Secretariat. It contains the Office of Operations and the Office of Logistics, Management and Mine Action Service. Its main role is to

> assist the Member States and the Secretary-General in their efforts to maintain international peace and security. [Its] mission is to plan, prepare, manage, and direct peacekeeping operations…under the overall authority of the Security Council and General Assembly, and under the command vested in the Secretary-General.[23]

In the beginning of 2005, DPKO leads sixteen peacekeeping operations, however only three of them are conducted on European territory: the United Nations Peacekeeping Forces in Cyprus (UNFICYP), the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG), and the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK).

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[22] UN International Court of Justice: General Information. Internet, http://www.icj-cij.org/icjwww/igeneralinformation.htm; accessed 30 January 2005.

[23] UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations: Mission Statement. Internet, http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/info/page3.htm; accessed 15 February 2005.

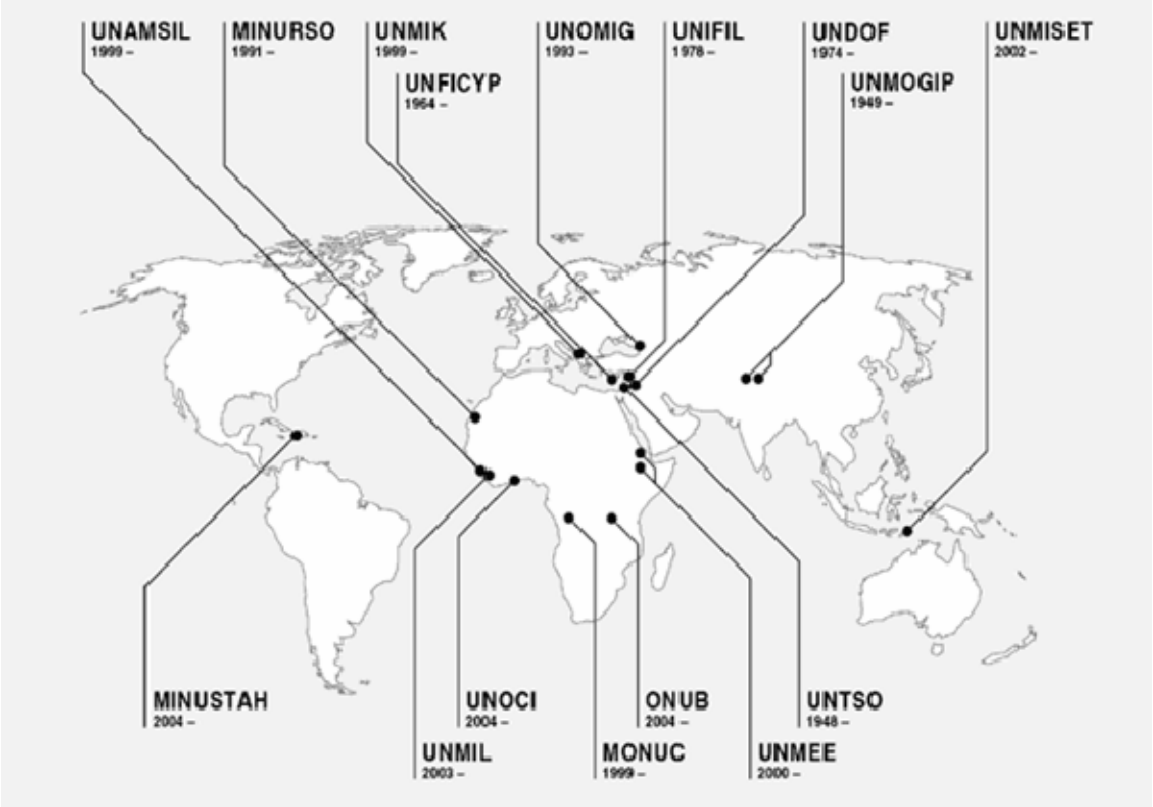


Figure II-5 Ongoing UN Peacekeeping Missions (from the UN DPKO website)

UNFICYP has operated in Cyprus since March 1964 to restore peace between two main Cypriot communities of Greeks and Turks, under the mandate of the Security Council. This mission mandate has been periodically extended (six months term) and regulated by the Security Council according to developments in the Cypriot security environment, as affected by a coup d'état by Cypriot Greeks to unify Cyprus with Greece in July 1974, followed by the military intervention of Turkey. The UNFICYP consists of 1.226 military personnel, 43 civilian police, 44 international civilians, and 109 local civilians.[24]

UNOMIG has been active since August 1993, following the mandate of a UN military observer advance team to verify adherence to the ceasefire agreement concluded between the Government of Georgia and the Abkhaz authorities. However, the escalating

[24] United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Background Note, 31 December 2004. Internet, http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/bnote.htm; accessed 29 January 2005.

development of an armed conflict between Abkhaz separatists and the Georgian government forces and violations of human rights by both sides invalidated UNOMIG's original mandate. After difficult negotiations mediated by the UN Special Envoy, a new Agreement on Ceasefire and Separation of Forces was signed in Moscow in May 1994. Then, the UNOMIG's mandate was resumed and expanded with new, broader tasks to monitor, verify, observe, and report a complexity of events and activities on both sides and furthermore, to maintain close contact with both parties to the conflict and to cooperate with the Commonwealth of Independent States peacekeeping force, whose presence in the area is supposed to contribute to the safe and orderly return of refugees and displaced persons. UNOMIG consists of 119 military personnel, 11 civilian police, 103 international civilians, and 184 local civilians.[25]

UNMIK was established in June 1999, after NATO completed air strike activities against the Serb Militias and the Serb government was forced accept the conditions of the international community to stop genocide activities against Kosovo Albanians. The UNMIK mission was unique among other UN peacekeeping missions and in that it formed a real multinational and inter-agency operation. The UN plays the role of state administrator, whilst NATO performs practical peacekeeping operations through its military capability and forces. On the other hand, the OSCE plays the role of restorer, in the sense that it supports the institutional rebuilding of Kosovo, including developing measures for free and fair elections. UNMIK consists of 37 military personnel, 3.509 civil police, 103 international civilians, and 2.715 local civilians.[26]

## C. EUROPEAN UNION

The European Union, in light of current efforts to enact a European Constitution through the individual nation’s Parliaments, seems to be creating a multinational federal state on the European continent. European countries have not always cooperated so closely and their relationships could historically be considered more confrontational than cooperative, as evidenced by several bloody conflicts. Hence, after the Second World War, France offered to establish an interconnection of French and German coal and steel

[25] See Note 24.

[26] See Note 24.

industries with independent supranational management.[27] In 1951, the first multinational industrial corporation, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), was established by six Western European countries: Belgium, the Federal German Republic, Luxembourg, France, Italy, and the Netherlands. After six years of successful development, the member countries decided to expand their cooperation in other economic branches. In 1957, these six countries signed the Roma protocols establishing the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) and the European Economic Community (EEC). The process eliminated obstacles among concerned state economies and trade began. Further economic development allowed these countries to merge the three institutions mentioned above into one and since 1967, only one commission, the Ministerial Council, and the European Parliament exist. Once the success of common economic development became visible, other European countries applied for European Community membership, including Denmark, Ireland, and the United Kingdom in 1973; Greece in 1981; and Spain and Portugal in 1986. Another political development, the Maastricht Treaty of 1992, brought further dimension first to economic and then to political cooperation among European countries. In sum, the Maastricht Treaty enabled the creation of the contemporary European Union by fostering a new kind of cooperation in the fields of, e.g., defense, justice, or internal affairs. Enlargement of the European Union continued after the end of Cold War as well. First, Austria, Finland, and Sweden obtained full membership in 1995 and then ten mostly post-Communist countries joined the European Union in 2004: the Czech Republic, Cyprus, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia.[28] Four other applicant countries are on the path towards joining the European Union in the future: Bulgaria, Croatia, Romania, and Turkey.

The economic and political European integration last decades and besides others, it was heading into the common European security interests. According the European Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), which represents the second pillar of the EU, as a result of common members states efforts regarding foreign policy and

[27] History of the European Union. Internet, http://www.eu.int/abc/history/index_cs.htm; accessed 15 January 2005.

[28] Ibid.

security, the European Council in Cologne adopted the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) in 1999.. Within the context of the CFSP, the EU is developing a common security policy, covering all questions relating to its security, including the progressive framing of a common defense policy. This policy could lead to a common defense in accordance with the member states respective constitutional requirements. In addition, the Cologne European Council meeting identified crisis management tasks as the essence of the process of strengthening the CFSP. These crisis management tasks include humanitarian and rescue tasks, peacekeeping tasks and tasks requiring the use of combat forces for crisis management, including peacemaking.

The cooperation between the EU and NATO in the field of military capabilities defined a set of agreements "allowing the Union to have recourse to NATO's assets and capabilities."[29] One of the earlier examples of success of political will and its concrete implementation is the 1992 creation of Eurocorps, a multinational military force that declares itself the "force for Europe and the Atlantic Alliance."[30] As result of further political development, especially in late 1990s, in 2001 Eurocorps was transformed into a Rapid Reaction Corps available to both the European Union and the Atlantic Alliance. On the other hand, in addition to the development of European military capabilities in the early 1990s, the EU demonstrated its inability to get involved in an incipient conflict in the former Yugoslavia and stabilize the region. In fact, only the United States was able to act sufficiently and intervene in the escalating ethnic and religious conflicts among Serbs, Croats, and Bosnians. Other events in Kosovo in 1999 stimulated the EU to take on responsibility for further development of security and stability in the European region and to create appropriate institutions and military capabilities. Currently, the EU is not only an economic superpower, with the largest free market in the world, but also a serious promoter of international security and stability, as demonstrated by its contributions to peacekeeping operations.

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[29] European Security and Defense. Internet, http://ue.eu.int/cms3_fo/showPage.asp?id=261&lang=en&mode=g; accessed 26 January 2005.

[30] Eurocorps. Internet, http://www.eurocorps.org/site/index.php?language=en&content=home; accessed 26 January 2005.

## 1. Structure of the EU

The European Union is neither a federation, like the United States, nor an organization for cooperation between governments, like the United Nations. "It is, in fact, unique."[31] The EU member states delegate some of their sovereignty and decision-making power to a supranational level and shared institutions. According to democratic principles, decisions on specific matters can be achieved democratically by the European institutions, as shown in Figure II-6.

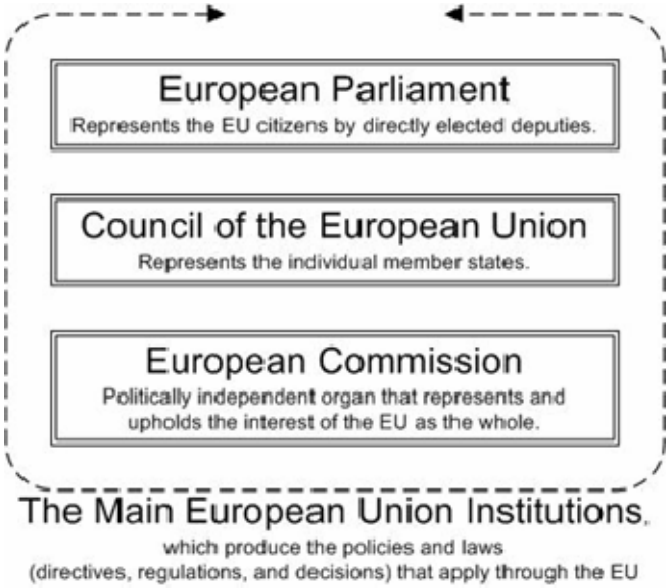


Figure II-6 Three Main EU Institutions (adapted from the EU organizational charts)

This institutional structure produces the policies and laws (directives, regulations, and decisions) that apply throughout the EU. In principle, it is the Commission that proposes new EU laws, but it is the Parliament and Council that adopt them. Two other organizations play a role in enforcing EU decisions: the Court of Justice, which upholds the rule of European law, and the Court of Auditors, which checks the financing of EU activities. However, the EU structure is more complex and complicated regarding its common policies, interests, and monetary union. Figure II-7 represents a general overview of EU institutions and other EU bodies, which play specialized roles.

[31] Europe – EU institutions and other bodies. Internet, http://www.eu.int/institutions/index_en.htm; accessed 27 January 2005.

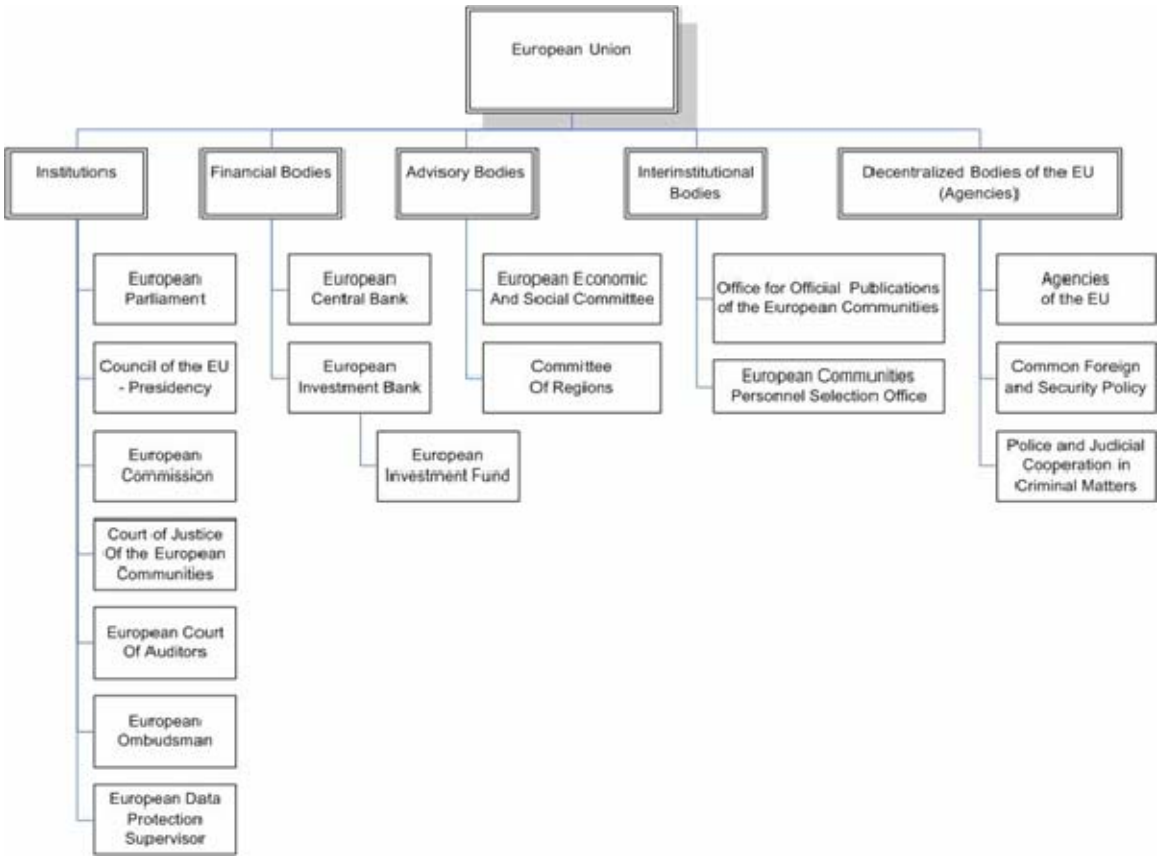


Figure II-7 EU Institutions and Complement Bodies (adapted from the EU organizational charts)

Although policy, security and defense are matters over which the individual EU member states retain independent control, the member states are continuously developing the CFSP to enable the EU to respond more effectively to international crises. Consecutively, the European Council in Nice, France, 2000, decided to establish new permanent political and military structures within the Council of the European Union: the Political and Security Committee (PSC), the European Union Military Committee (EUMC), and the European Union Military Staff (EUMS), composed of military experts seconded to the Council Secretariat by the member states. The EUMS is under the military direction of the EUMC, which it assists. Currently, the EUMC and EUMS share the NATO properties and facilities in Brussels, and Mons, Belgium, for closer cooperation between the EU and NATO organizations. In addition, the NATO Deputy

Supreme Allied Commander in Europe became the EU Operational Commander for EU-led military operations, such as CONCORDIA or ALTHEA.

## 2. Current EU Peacekeeping Operations

Until January 2005, the EU had been involved in a total of three military operations, two of which have already been terminated. The first EU military mission was conducted in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) – CONCORDIA – from 31 March to 15 December 2003. The second EU military operation, and the first outside European territory, was pursued in the Democratic Republic of Congo – DRC/ARTEMIS– from 5 June to 1 September 2003.

Although these military missions were officially terminated, they have their successors and an EU presence remains in those regions. Thus, the EU currently leads one military, three police, and one advisory activity in Europe and Africa. All of these activities were established in the framework of the ESDP.

The EU military operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) – ALTHEA – was established as the largest EU military operation in history on 2 December 2004, taking over the leading role from the NATO Stabilization Force operation. ALTHEA's main goals are determined by three kinds of objectives:

> *Short Term Objective.* To ensure a seamless transition from SFOR to the EU Force (EUFOR) in order to help maintain a secure environment for the implementation of the Dayton/Paris Peace Agreement, as highlighted in the MIP, and the strengthening of local capacity building through support of the BiH authorities in implementing the conditions in the SAP feasibility study, to make sure that the SAP and the implementation of the MIP reinforce one another.
>
> *Medium Term Objective.* Supporting BiH's progress towards EU integration by its own effort, by contributing to a safe and secure environment with the objective of signing the Stabilization and Association Agreement (SAA). This complements the HR/EU Special Representative's (EUSR) Mission Implementation Plan (MIP) and [determine] the end of the EU's executive role in peace implementation, including through gradual transfer of ownership to BiH authorities.

> *Long Term Objective*. A stable, viable, peaceful and multiethnic BiH, cooperating peacefully with its neighbors and irreversibly on track towards EU membership. [32]

The mission's ambitions are to fully replace the NATO-led SFOR mission by robust deployment of military forces – 7,000 troops. In addition to EU member countries, other non-EU countries contribute the EUFOR-ALTHEA operation: Albania, Argentina, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Morocco, New Zealand, Norway, Romania, Switzerland, and Turkey.

The EU Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina – EUPM – was established as the first, non-military EU operation on 1 January 2003. Its mandate is to monitor, mentor and inspect the local police in order to assist BiH police develop European policing standards.

The EU Police Mission in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia – EUPOL PROXIMA – became the fourth ESDP operation after the EU military operation CONCORDIA successfully accomplished its mission on 15 December 2003. The FYROM Prime Minister invited the EU to assume responsibility for an enhanced role in policing and to deploy an EU Police mission on 16 December 2004. Its mandate is to support the development of an efficient and professional police service in FYROM based on European standards of policing.[33]

The EU Police Mission in Kinshasa (DCR) – EUPOL "Kinshasa" – is currently in preparation and supposed to achieve full operational capability by March 2005. It was established in the framework of UN-EU cooperation on crisis management and will follow up the police training project currently conducted under the European Development Fund (EDF).[34]

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[32] EU Military Operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina (EUFOR-ALTHEA). Internet, http://ue.eu.int/cms3_fo/showPage.asp?id=745&lang=en&mode=g; accessed 26 January 2005.

[33] European Union, ESDP Presidency Report, endorsed by the European Council of 17 December 2004. Internet.http://ue.eu.int/uedocs/cmsUpload/ESDP%20Presidency%20Report%2017.12.04.pdf; accessed 26 January 2005.

[34] Ibid.

The EU Rule of Law Mission in Georgia – EUJUST THEMIS – is an advisory mission conducted by ten senior and highly experienced civilian experts representing the EU legal system to "support, mentor and advise Ministers, senior officials and appropriate bodies at the level of the central government."[35]

## D. NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Washington Treaty, was signed in Washington D.C. on 4 April 1949 by twelve countries: Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and the United States.[36] Since then, NATO has been enlarged five times to its current membership of twenty-six nations. Greece and Turkey joined NATO in 1952, Germany in 1955, and Spain in 1982. The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the end of the Cold War brought further developments in politico-military dimensions. Therefore, the North Atlantic Council (NAC) formally invited the first three post-communist countries – former Warsaw Pact members – the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland, to be NATO members during the NATO Summit held in Madrid from 8 – 9 July 1997. This resulted in significant changes to the European security environment. Other candidate countries, which remained "outside the club" this time (i.e., Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia), began actively cooperate with the NATO Partnership for Peace program.[37] The fourth NATO enlargement ended solemnly during the 50$^{th}$ NATO anniversary celebration in Washington D.C. in March 1999, when the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland became full members.. Furthermore, the 2002 Prague Summit invited another seven Central and Eastern European countries – Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia – to join the NATO alliance. This was the first time countries of the former Soviet Union were invited to join NATO. With the May 2004 inclusion of these seven countries as full members, NATO enlargement is complete for the time being. During the long time period between

[35] European Union, ESDP Presidency Report, endorsed by the European Council of 17 December 2004. Internet, http://ue.eu.int/uedocs/cmsUpload/ESDP%20Presidency%20Report%2017.12.04.pdf; accessed 26 January 2005.

[36] NATO Handbook, 412.

[37] Partnership for Peace was a major NATO initiative introduced by the Brussels Summit Meeting of the North Atlantic Council in January 1994.

NATO's establishment in 1949, through several international crises (e.g., Budapest, Hungary in 1956 and Prague, Czechoslovakia in 1968 with the Soviet Union or Warsaw Pact military intervention) until the end of Cold War, NATO always protected and defended basic democratic values. The most inimical subject of threats to western democratic values was a group of Communist countries, led by generals of the Soviet Union, associated in the Warsaw Pact, founded in 1955.[38] After a break down of Communist regimes all around Europe, the Warsaw Pact was dissolved in 1991. Then Czechoslovak President Václav Havel with his unachievable idealism wanted to dissolve both military alliances, NATO and the Warsaw Pact, in the early 1990s. However, by the end of the year 1990, his opinion changed and NATO, to him, "works as a guarantee of freedom and democracy" and only the Warsaw Pact was "a remnant of the past which came into being as a typical product of Stalinist expansionism used as a tool of subordination of Communist countries to the Soviet Union."[39] Eight months later, on 1 July 1991, Havel opened the final Prague Warsaw Pact meeting. Six of eight founding countries (Albania withdrew in 1968 and the German Democratic Republic's membership "disappeared" with the 1990 unification of the two German states.) attended this meeting, where the main task was to sign protocols that formally ended Warsaw Pact activities.[40]

Since the end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, new questions about NATO's existence appeared. The need to develop new security arrangements in Europe, reconstruct the armed forces, and reorient strategy and security policies was noticeable. NATO Secretary General Lord George Robertson (1999 – 2003), in the Foreword for NATO Handbook 2001 Edition, recapitulated the situation in the early 1990s that the "dilemma has not been how to identify a new role for itself but rather how best to seize the opportunity of fulfilling the security agenda…namely to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their people."[41]

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[38] Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union.

[39] Václav Havel, "The Presidential Speech on the CSCE Summit" (Paris, 19 November 1990). Internet, http://www.vaclachavel.cz/showtrans.php?cat=projevy&val=292_projevy.html&typ=HTML; accessed 15 January 2005.

[40] NATO Handbook, 45.

[41] Ibid, 11.

At the July 1990 NATO Summit in London "the Head of States or Government announced major steps to transform the Alliance in a manner commensurate with the new security environment and to bring confrontation between East and West to an end."[42] It was the first and the most far-reaching declaration issued since NATO was founded. However, in spite of the fact that the European situation observed an appeasement in international relations, new threats to world security and stability appeared. One such threat, for example, was Iraq's annexation of the independent state of Kuwait in August 1990. Iraq proclaimed that Kuwait was its former nineteenth province. Further development in the Gulf examined decisiveness of new arising democracies to promote democratic values together with alliance of NATO members. Despite "the NATO countries used the Alliance forum intensively for political consultations…and took a prominent part in supporting United Nations efforts to achieve a diplomatic solution,"[43] the common military forces of NATO Allies and former East bloc individual state were formed, i.e. with the Czechoslovak Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Protection unit.

Nevertheless, NATO has undergone several political and military tests since the end of Cold War. Outbreaks of violence based on an aggressive nationalism in the early 1990s, especially in South Eastern Europe and the territories of the former Soviet Union, accelerated NATO's efforts towards transformation. Several new NATO internal institutions and initiatives arose, such as the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC-December 1991), Partnership for Peace (PfP-January 1994), Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC-May 1997), Strategic Concept of the Alliance (SC-April 1999), NATO Defense Capabilities Initiative (DCI-April 1999), Membership Action Plan (MAP-April 1999), and many others.

The NACC was established to bring NATO countries and Central and Eastern European countries together as "a new consultative forum."[44] In March 1992, all post-Soviet Union countries associated in the Commonwealth of Independent States joined

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[42] NATO Handbook, 38.

[43] Ibid, 39.

[44] Ibid, 40.

NACC, followed by Albania and Georgia in June 1992.[45] "To enhance stability and security throughout Europe"[46] was a NATO initiative PfP principle, and invitations were addressed to "all states participating in the NACC and other states participating in CSCE [who are] able and willing to contribute to the programme."[47] PfP represents a series of activities between NATO and individual countries through "jointly elaborated Individual Partnership Programmes." EAPC replaced NACC and is currently comprised of 39 countries, including the seven countries newly appointed as full NATO members. Because of cooperation among NACC countries since 1991 and Russia's joining the PfP in 1994, the NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council was established in July 1997. This Council "quickly became the hub of efforts to build confidence, overcome misperceptions, and develop a pattern of regular consultations and cooperation."[1] In addition, another post-Soviet Union country, Ukraine, has closely cooperated with NATO since its independence in 1991. In July 1997, the Distinctive Partnership between NATO and Ukraine, in the frame of EAPC and PfP, was established.

March 1999 could be considered another turning point in NATO development. In addition to a formal act of NATO enlargement, NATO decided – without a UN Security Council decision – to employ a military operation against Serbian Militias conducting a campaign of ethnic cleansing, oppression, and terror against the Albanian population of Kosovo. On 24 March 1999, the allied air strike campaign began, just twelve days after three new Central European countries joined NATO, including Hungary, the closest neighbor of Serbia. The most criticized event of the campaign was a lack of UN Security Council approval for such activity. Although the military operations were carried out professionally, in my opinion, the selection process of targets went beyond the reasonable point. On one hand, the campaign was designed to stop the Serbian genocide of the Kosovo Albanian population and to demonstrate to then Serbian President Slobodan Milošević the power of allied units as a punishment. On the other hand, targets selected for air strikes were not only Serbian military objects and facilities in Kosovo, South

[45] NATO Handbook, 40.

[46] Ibid, 67.

[47] Ibid.

Serbia, or Beograd, the capital of Serbia, but also Northern areas of the country, i.e., Vojvodina and Eastern Slavonia near the Hungarian or Croatian borders. This campaign brought about a new security phenomenon, the "humanitarian intervention dilemma,"[48] a result of the "collision [of] some fundamental principles of international law, mainly the State's sovereignty and the non use of force, with the paramount respect of human rights."[49] Finally, results of the campaign were recognized and the UN Security Council authorized enforcement of the security military presence in Kosovo, as agreed to by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The most recent turning point is surely 11 September 2001 and the terrorist attacks on U.S. territory, when nineteen members of a group of the al-Qaida terrorist network hijacked four U.S. airliners and crashed them intentionally: two into the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York, one into the Pentagon, in Washington, D.C. and one, which probably failed to reach its destination, into a field near Shanksville, Pennsylvania. These cruel terrorist acts shook not only the U.S. but all national and international defense and security organizations. Several thousand people had to die to recognize the vulnerability and accessibility of U.S. territory to different interest groups. In response to these attacks, the U.S. launched the "global war on terrorism." U.S. President Bush summarized the U.S. approach in this new war when he said,

> We must take the battle to the enemy, disrupt his plans and confront the worst threats before they emerge. In the world we have entered, the only path to safety is the path of action.[50]

NATO, as one of the largest world security organizations, decided to respond to the new threat in a way corresponding with these attacks. In retrospect, two kinds of responses can be identified on both political and military levels: immediate and consequential. On 12 September 2001, less than 24 hours after the terrorist attacks, NATO Article 5 of collective defense was invoked by NATO's governing body, the

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[48] Alfredo Chamorro Chapinal, 57.

[49] Ibid.

[50] President George W. Bush, Speech at West Point, 1 June 2002. Quoted from the National Strategy for Combating Terrorism (Washington, D.C.: The White House, February 2003), p. 11.

North Atlantic Council, for the first time in the Alliance's history.[51] The terrorist attack against the United States was acknowledged as an attack against all 19 NATO allied countries. This act was affirmed by then NATO Secretary General George Robertson on 2 October, after the allied countries' ambassadors to NATO were informed about results of an ongoing September 11 investigation proving that the attacks were carried out by foreign terrorists from the al-Qaeda terrorist network. Also, other NATO committees such as the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council, NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council, and others immediately expressed their unconditional condemnation of the attacks as brutal and nonsensical acts of cruelty and attacks on common human values.

In retrospect, it seems clear that the unprecedented invocation of Article 5 by NATO, immediately after the 11 September attacks, failed to yield the desired results. There are two main reasons for this failure. First, NATO was only beginning its transformation into an Alliance with both the global reach and the military capability to deal effectively with asymmetric threats; therefore, despite an involvement of some military units as backup for the U.S. Armed Forces, the Alliance was not militarily prepared to participate in forthcoming activities efficiently. Second, the U.S. administration basically refused to accept NATO assistance, as expressed by the Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz, who at the Munich Security Conference in February 2002 clearly declared that "in future operations Washington will pick and choose its assistance from NATO and various bilateral forces inside and outside NATO....NATO allies would have no privileged position and would certainly not be allowed to veto targets or tactics, as the United States said they had done in the Kosovo War."[52] Nonetheless, the U.S.-led War on Terrorism began military operations in October 2001, first the Enduring Freedom operation against Afghanistan, its ruling party Taliban, and terrorist training bases. Another extensive, U.S.-led, military operation began in March 2003, the War in Iraq, to overthrow the dictatorship of Saddam Hussein's regime and to eliminate the possible use of weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear warheads.

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[51] NATO OIP #3, 4.

[52] Elizabeth Pond, 2.

NATO itself, faced with both a changing European security environment and a world security environment influenced by further developments in the War on Terrorism, accelerated its internal transformation in order to achieve the abilities and capabilities needed to protect and defend democratic values as indicated by the articles of the North Atlantic Treaty. Although the NATO transformation has been a continuing process since the end of the Cold War, the Prague Summit 2002 and the Istanbul Summit 2004 brought another dimension to this transformation.

The main motto of the Prague Summit, which took place in November 2002, was "New capabilities, new members, and new relations."[53] The term "new capabilities" meant that NATO had to begin the transformation process to fit itself into the new requirements of international development and NATO enlargement, and that each allied country has some special capability which can contribute to the whole spectrum of abilities of the new powerful structure of allied forces. The result of this process was the NATO nations' declaration, the Prague Commitments of Capabilities adopted by the Summit. However, the Prague Summit identified the need to create a new capable and rapidly deployable unit – NATO Response Forces. NATO Response Forces (NRF) are already an effective power subordinated to Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) in Mons, Belgium, to be deployed according to North Atlantic Council (NAC) decisions. NRF are supposed to achieve full operational capability in October 2006, with twenty thousand troops. Together with creation of NRF, a new allied unit is supposed to be created, the Multinational Battalion of NBC Protection (MnB NBC). The main task of this battalion is to deploy with any NATO military group and to work towards NBC protection in general, when the national NBC units are not yet ready.[54] The MnB NBC was already created in the Czech Republic on a principle of the Leading Nation. The Czech Republic has the most experienced NBC experts; hence, it was selected to build up MnB NBC on its territory. The battalion achieved initial operational capability on

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[53] Ministry of Defense, the Czech Republic, "Five Years in NATO," 11 March 2004. Internet, http://www.army.cz/scripts/detail.php?id=3328; accessed 10 September 2004.

[54] Ministry of Defense, the Czech Republic, "Mnohonárodní prapor radiační, chemické a biologické ochrany NATO (Multinational Battalion of Radiological, Chemical and Biological Protection)," 16 July 2004. Internet, http://www.army.cz/scripts/detail.php?id=3180&PHPSESSID=7de36a3b37afcff99eb2dbf39860fa52; accessed 19 January 2005.

1 December 2003 with participation of thirteen[55] NATO countries. Full operational capabilities were achieved after a series of practical exercises on 1 July 2004 and the battalion became subordinated to the Allied Command Operations (ACO). Subsequently, Czech specialists are involved in building another NBC battalion in Germany, which is the next MnB NBC Leading Nation, by 15 January 2005.

Conclusions of the June 2004 NATO Istanbul Summit, which included all 26 member countries for the first time, did not bring any new ideas or changes to NATO strategy or structures. Rather, it refined conclusions from the Prague Summit and Prague Capability Initiatives, stressing continuity in the transformation process of the Alliance's military capabilities, focusing on modern and rapidly deployable forces. Nevertheless, the Summit made several decisions regarding its current activities.

After nine years, the NATO Stability Force mission (SFOR) in Bosnia and Herzegovina ended. In practice, the mission's area of responsibility was handed over to the European Union's mission ALTHEA by December 2004. NATO's priority became strengthening of its effort in Afghanistan through the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan (ISAF) mission. The Balkan countries remain in the sphere of NATO interest, especially the Kosovo region, with a strong NATO military contingent. The NATO Active Endeavour mission, focused on protecting civil merchant ships through preventive measures against possible terrorist attacks, will increase NATO's presence in the Mediterranean Sea. NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer evaluated the Istanbul Summit,

> Our Istanbul Summit will bring home that NATO is tackling the new challenges of the 21st century. It will bring home that the new NATO, the NATO of 26 members, is an Alliance that acts. It acts in the Balkans and Afghanistan, where our troops make the difference between war and peace. It acts in the Mediterranean, where our ships engage in anti-terrorist operations.56

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[55] Belgium, the Czech Republic, Italy, Hungary, Poland, Portugal, Romania, USA, Spain, Great Britain, Turkey, and Canada with Norway in advisory team.

[56] NATO, Istanbul Summit. Internet, http://www.nato.int/docu/comm/2004/06-istanbul/operations.htm; accessed 19 January 2005.

The Czech President Václav Klaus in his address to the Summit Plenary Meeting noticed that NATO suppose to remain as the Alliance for military defense,

> As a key aspect I consider that NATO supposes to keep its military-defense character rather than be gradually transmuted into the institution of collective defense similar to OSCE or the United Nations Peacekeeping forces. It is not possible to allow NATO to enter critical situations late, without concrete conceptions of political solutions, without clear expectations of a conflict termination, and with risk of long-term involvement.[57]

In sum, NATO's transformation process has made significant strides in recent years. In 2003, new structures were adopted and new military commands were established. In early 2005, NATO is conducting five military operations: Active Endeavour in the Mediterranean Sea since October 2001; Kosovo Force (KFOR), since June 1999; International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) to Afghanistan, since January 2002; and NATO Training Mission - Iraq (NTM-I), approved by the North Atlantic Council on 17 November 2004. The Supreme Allied Commander Europe, U.S. Marine Corps General James L. Jones, declared the Operational Order which activated the new mission on 16 December 2004. Even though NATO officially terminated the SFOR mission, it opened NATO Headquarters (HQ) in Sarajevo on 2 December 2004. Led by a Senior Military Representative, NATO HQ serves as further proof of NATO's desire to see Bosnia and Herzegovina move closer to Euro-Atlantic structures.[58]

### 1. NATO Civil-Military and Military Structures Since 2003

At the November 2002 Prague Summit, NATO Heads of States or Government approved a package of measures aimed at enhancing the Alliance's ability to meet today's security threats and challenges. This included a reorganization of NATO's International Staff and the implementation of modern management processes. The basic aim of the restructuring was to ensure a fairer redistribution of responsibilities among divisions,

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[57] Václav Klaus, President of the Czech Republic, "NATO a dnešek: Projev v Istanbulu (NATO and today: Address in Istanbul)." Internet, http://www.vaclavklaus.cz/klaus2/asp/clanek.asp?id=Mmt4eO2Qx5Lc; accessed 19 January 2005.

[58] NATO, Organization, Military Structure. Internet, http://www.nato.int; accessed 19 January 2005.

strengthen management of the staff, and improve coordination on key issues and programs.[59] Then NATO Secretary General Lord Robertson said,

> The NATO's missions and roles have changed drastically over the years, while the headquarters structure has remained essentially the same. It is now time to adapt it to the new circumstances.[60]

Although NATO is perceived as a military organization, it does not sway from democratic principles and civil-military control of the armed forces. It means that NATO political institutions, the main decision making bodies e.g. North Atlantic Council are formed by politicians representing their national governments. The highest decision making body is the Summit of Heads of States or Government. The main military body of NATO is the Military Committee, which is formed by Chiefs of General Staff or Defense from individual member countries.

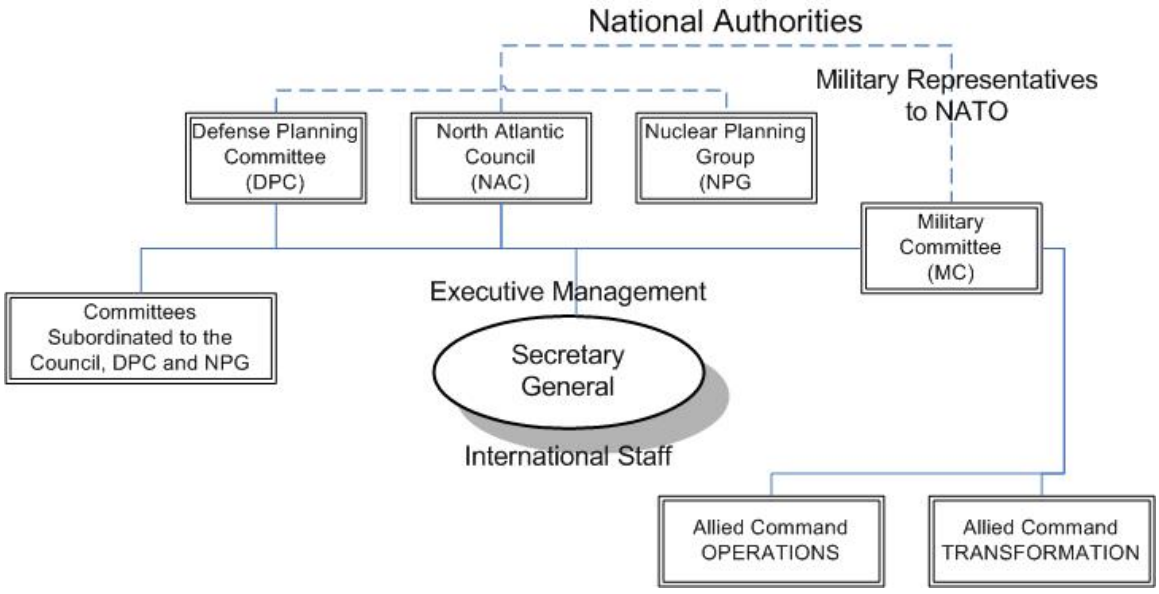


Figure II-8 NATO Civil and Military Staff (adapted from the NATO organizational charts)

59 NATO, "NATO Issues," updated 11 November 2004. Internet, http://www.nato.int/issues/restructuring/index.html; accessed 20 January 2005.

60 George Lord Robertson, "Restructuring NATO's International Staff." Internet, http://www.nato.int/issues/restructuring/index.html; accessed 20 January 2005.

The highest representative of the NATO organization and an executive leader of NATO is a Secretary General, supported by an International Staff and an International Military Staff. New NATO executive structure adopted in August 2003 consists of six divisions, each headed by an Assistant Secretary General.

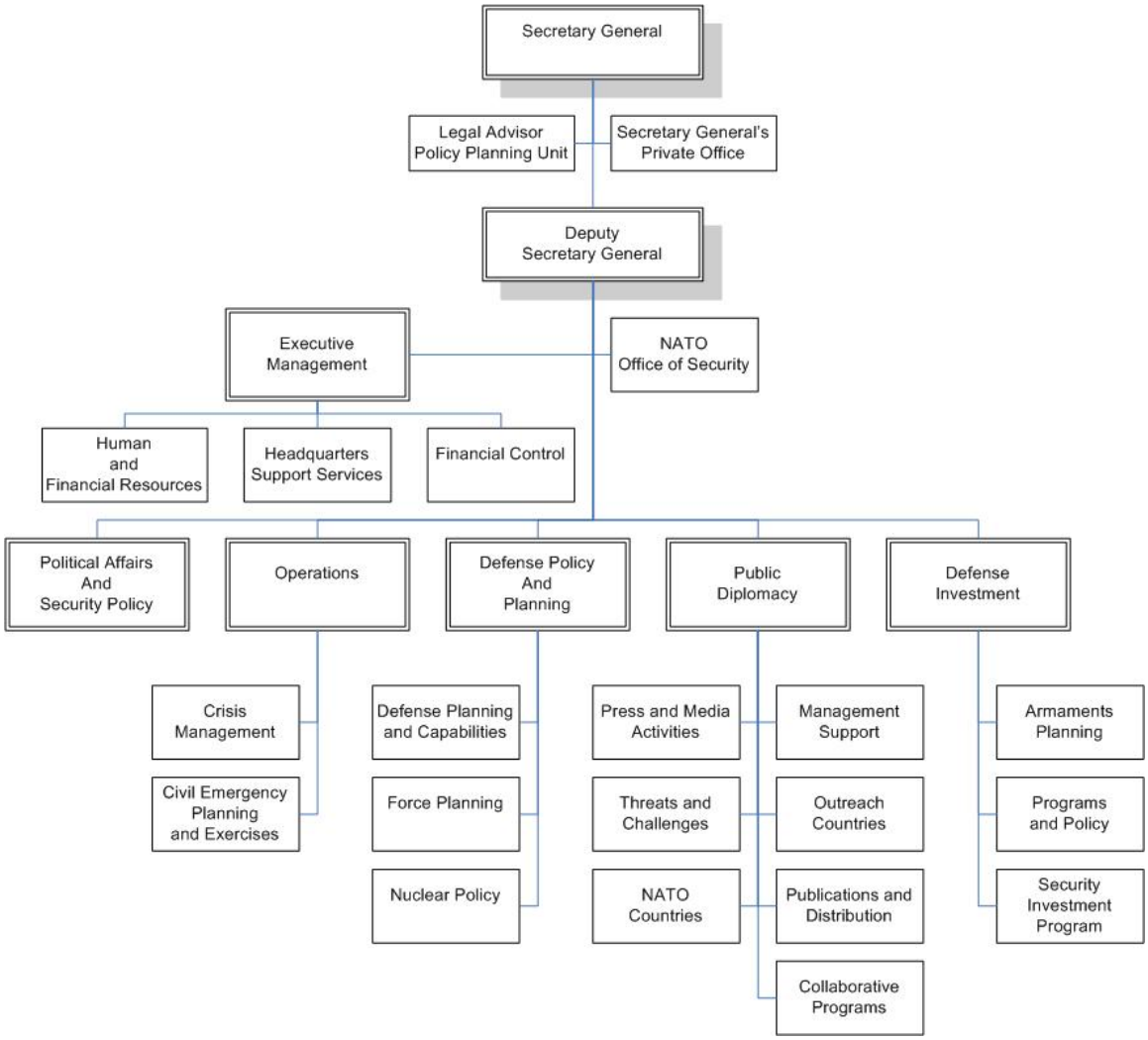


Figure II-9 NATO International Staff (adapted from the NATO organizational charts)

International Military Staff includes the Military Committee and military commands, along with a number of other subordinated units.

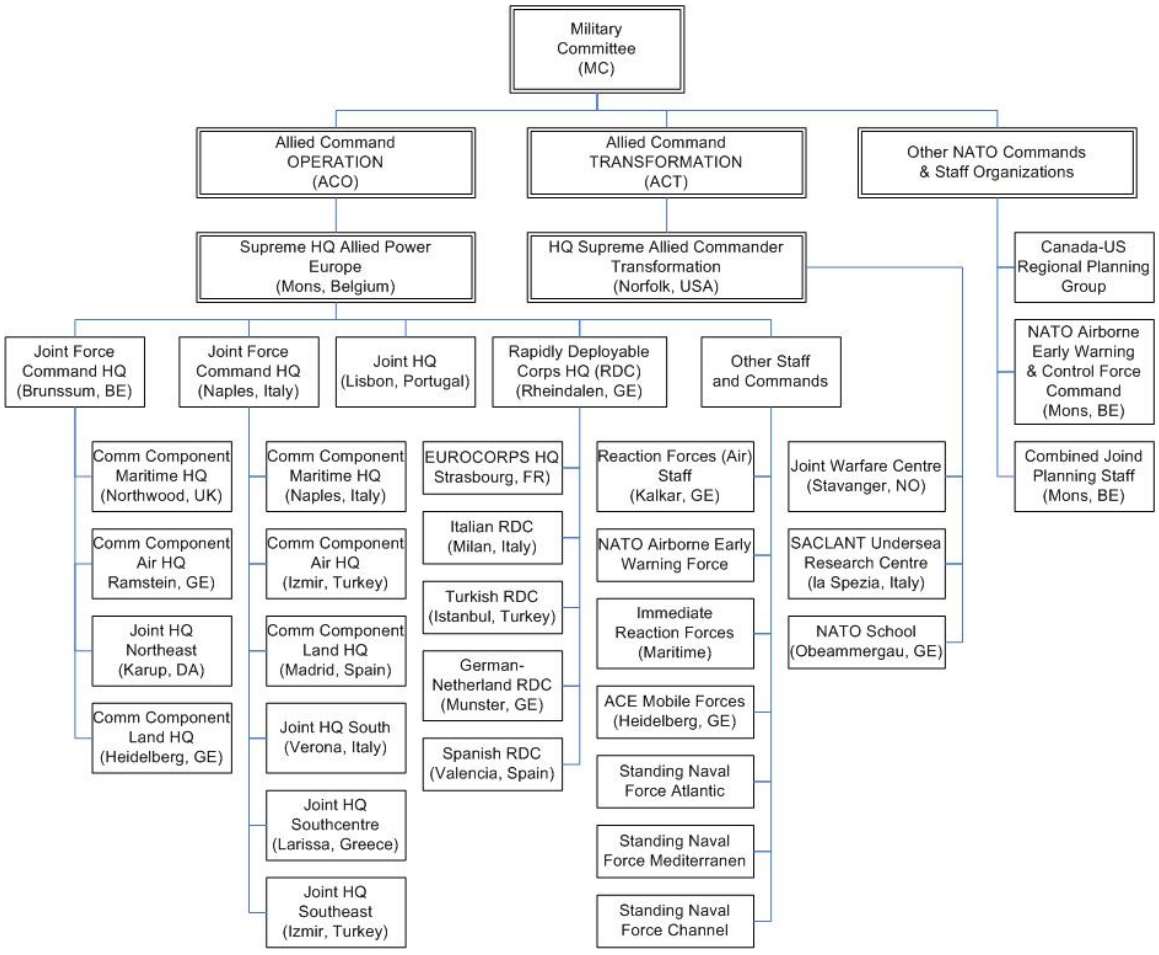


Figure II-10 NATO International Military Staff, Commands and Units (adapted from the NATO organizational charts)

## 2. NATO Military Operations

In the contemporary world, NATO conducts six activities to strengthen peaceful efforts in the world community. Three of them, NATO Headquarters in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH); NATO Headquarters in Skopje, former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM); and NATO Kosovo Forces (KFOR) perform consequential operations to maintain security stability achieved in the Balkan Peninsula. Operation Active Endeavour was established as one of the measures in the war on terrorism. In connection with the war on terrorism, NATO also established the International Security

Assistance Force (ISAF) mission in Afghanistan and the NATO Training Mission (NTM-I) in Iraq.

The NATO military peacemaking and peacekeeping operations successfully accomplished their missions in the former states of Yugoslavia BiH and FYROM. The NATO Stabilization Forces were deployed in BiH for almost nine years and their operations were terminated by November 2004. In December 2004, their task was to hand over responsibility to the EU military operation ALTHEA, which is the official legal successor to the SFOR mission.

However, the NATO presence in BiH did not end completely, because the NATO Headquarters in Sarajevo was established to further promote NATO's interest in development in the field of defense reforms and to provide advice and assistance to the Bosnian authorities.

The development of security stabilization in FYROM was not as turbulent as in BiH because of Macedonian President Trajkovski's requests for preventive security measures and NATO operations such as Operations Essential Harvest, Amber Fox, and Allied Harmony. These operations, conducted progressively from 2002 to early 2003, were aimed at disarmament of Albanian groups, protection of international monitors overseeing implementation of the peace plan, and assisting the Macedonian government in taking over responsibility for security in the country. The last NATO military operation in Macedonia ended on 31 March 2003 and its tasks were formally handed over to the EU. Since then, NATO Headquarters, led by a senior civilian representative and a senior military representative, remains in Macedonia to help its government proceed towards Euro-Atlantic structures.

The one real military peacekeeping operation on European territory at this time is the NATO-led operation Kosovo Force (KFOR), conducted in the Yugoslav autonomous region of Kosovo, in close cooperation with the UN Mission in Kosovo and the OSCE Mission in Kosovo. Currently, its main responsibility is establishing and maintaining security in Kosovo. Although NATO intervention in March 1999 stopped the ethnic conflict between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's (FRY) military and paramilitary forces and the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), tension lingers between the Albanian and

Serbian communities. The KFOR mission itself was established after the NATO air strike campaign in June 1999.

NATO Operation Active Endeavour was established in October 2001, as an expression of solidarity with one of the member states activating Article 5 of the Washington Treaty. The operation was initially conducted with Airborne Warning and Control Systems aircrafts (AWACS) providing air surveillance and early warning capabilities, and nine ships from Standing Naval Forces Mediterranean (SNFM) providing a NATO military presence in the Eastern Mediterranean to support operations against suspected terrorist activities. Currently, 37 different types of ships from nine NATO member countries[61] perform this NATO maritime presence, which was extended to the entire Mediterranean and NATO Partners in April 2003.

The International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) was established by UN Security Council decision in accordance with Chapter VII of the UN Charter. Created following the conclusion of the Bonn Conference in December 2001, ISAF is peace enforcement mission, founded after the defeat of the Afghan Taliban regime. Historically, the first NATO operation outside the Euro-Atlantic region began in August 2003, when NATO took over command and coordination of ISAF operations. Approximately eight thousand military personnel in four multinational brigades from forty-seven countries assist the Afghan Transitional Authorities in ensuring and maintaining the security environment for the safe development of Afghan authorities, institutions, police, and armed forces.[62]

The second NATO mission established outside traditional NATO areas is the NATO Training Mission (NTM-I), established in December 2004 to train and assist Iraqi Security Forces with equipment and technical assistance. This mission follows the previous NATO Training Implementation Mission that identified training opportunities for the Iraqi Security Forces at the request of the Iraqi Interim Government in August 2004 The current mission is focused on providing training and advice to

[61] NATO: Operation Active Endeavour (as of 8 January 2004). Internet, http://www.afsouth.nato.int/operations/Endeavour/forces.htm; accessed 30 January 2005.

[62] NATO: International Security Assistance Force. Internet, http://www.afnorth.nato.int/ISAF/mission/mission_overview.htm; accessed 30 January 2005.

selected Iraqi officials. It is assisting in building of Iraq training institutions, such as a Military Academy, a Training, Education, and Doctrine Centre, or a Training Command, coordination of military equipment and providing assistance with training. The number of NATO personnel participating in this mission will increase from a current level of ninety to three hundred "once the mission is in full swing."[63]

[63] NATO: International Security Assistance Force. Internet, http://www.afnorth.nato.int/ISAF/mission/mission_overview.htm; accessed 30 January 2005.

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# III. ORGANIZATION FOR SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

The third chapter is dedicated to the CSCE/OSCE and its origins, historical development, transition from Conference to Organization, current structure, and latest political activities and efforts. In addition, the chapter includes a description of the OSCE instruments used to facilitate the political process in conflict areas and to keep the OSCE member states informed about further developments in areas affected by conflict. The chapter concludes with a reflection of further OSCE developments following events of 2004, e.g., the Commonwealth of Independent States' complaints about inadequate proportionality of the OSCE interest in particular areas, or conclusions of the last Ministerial Council held in December 2004. Unlike the previous chapter, the OSCE missions and other field activities are not included in this section. They will be described in following chapter, together with details on their mandates, efforts, and achievements.

## A. HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT

The OSCE deals with many security issues, ranging from arms control to preventive diplomacy, confidence and security building measures, human rights, election monitoring, and economic and environmental security. This diversity of issues gives the OSCE a unique character and sets it apart from other organizations and institutions in Europe.[64] The following summary of its history and development describes the evolution of the CSCE and its transformation to the OSCE, focusing on new approaches to security issues, conflict prevention, and political efforts to solve critical situations.

### 1. Origins of the CSCE/OSCE

Looking back into history, the idea of a European security conference was raised first by the Soviet Union in the 1950s. However, such agreement about a European collective security institution supposed to be signed by all European countries. Western countries were not against the idea in general, but they made the unification of the two German states a condition of the negotiation process. Despite Soviet or U.S. proposals to establish a similar organization in the 1960s, the development of the security

[64] OSCE Handbook, 1.

environment followed the rules of the Cold War. Also, events of Soviet aggression in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 did not facilitate negotiations among the East and the West, and resulted in frozen relations for quite some time. Nevertheless, efforts towards peaceful order on the European continent resulted in some cooperation among European states even among ongoing armament competitions. After both the East and the West agreed on the basic principles of negotiation, the first talks began in Helsinki on 22 November 1972 and were held until 8 June 1973. During this time, the Final Recommendations of the Helsinki Consultations were processed and it was determined that the future CSCE would evolve in three stages. First, the meeting of foreign ministers of the CSCE member states attempted to clarify their governments' attitude regarding the problems of security and cooperation in Europe. Actually, the CSCE was formally opened in Helsinki on 3 July 1973 for four days. The talks in Geneva, considered as a second stage, took place from 18 September 1973 to 21 July 1975, and subsequently constituted the substantive working phase. This time, experts from 35 participating states were engaged in the multilateral East – West negotiation process, which concluded with the establishment of the CSCE Final Act.

In June 1973, thirty-three European countries,[65] the United States of America and Canada debated and negotiated the possibility of creating a platform to discuss important security issues during the Cold War. Then, in August 1975, almost thirty years ago, these countries signed the final document, after more than two years of attempting to find a common "multilateral forum for dialog and negotiation between the East and the West."[66] The Final Helsinki Act enabled these countries to create the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). CSCE suddenly became the world's largest political security organization, covering territory from Vancouver to Vladivostok. The Helsinki document also identified a wide spectrum of commitments, which established relationships among member states, identified measurements to strengthen their

[65] Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, France, the German Democratic Republic, Greece, Holy See, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Malta, Monaco, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, San Marino, the Soviet Union, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the United Kingdom, the United States, Yugoslavia.

[66] Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Factsheets, "What is the OSCE?" Internet, http://www.osce.org/documents/sg/2004/03/2380_en.pdf ; accessed 6 October 2004.

confidence in each other, fostered a respect for human rights and freedom, and supported cooperation in the field of culture, technology, and sciences.

According to the Helsinki Act, the CSCE developed several evaluating meetings in Beograd (1977-1978), Madrid (1980-1983), Vienna (1986-1989), and Helsinki (March-July 1992) to assess CSCE's performance in fulfilling its commitments. The eruption of violence connected with a strong inimical nationalism, especially in South Eastern Europe and Central Asia in the early 1990s, surprised both an unprepared OSCE, and also NATO, a leading and powerful military organization which was seeking its own role and position in the contemporary situation. The fifth evaluating meeting took place in Budapest in October-December 1994 and became a watershed moment in the CSCE's existence. The most visible act was a name change, effective since 1995, from "Conference" to "Organization": the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. The new name also affected OSCE's approach to handling existing or possibly forthcoming crises or conflicts, such as Nagorno Karabakh or Georgia.

In December 1994, the Budapest evaluating meeting elaborated, and the following Budapest Summit of Heads of States or Governments accepted a new OSCE document based on the Helsinki Final Act, the Paris Declaration, and the 1992 Helsinki Document. The Budapest Document installed a new Code of Conduct on Politico-Military Aspects of Security and added a new significant dimension to OSCE. Although for some people, the OSCE seems a useless political discussion club without "teeth,"[67]

> The OSCE was purposefully designated to promote stability. Its primary attraction that allowed it to gain such expansive membership was that it was distinctly NOT a military organization – and therefore not a threat – or even a significant financial commitment – to its members countries. From a distinctly U.S. perspective, OSCE is weak precisely because while it can certainly uncover election fraud, humanitarian crises, and general government corruption, it can do preciously little to correct it. It thus MUST rely on NATO, the U.S., and stronger defense organization to enforce its findings, or significantly risk its credibility in world affairs.

[67] The U.S. Army Major, e-mail survey, 9 December 2004:

and others say that it is a "dead"[1] organization spending large amounts of money without tangible results, CSCE and later OSCE, has shaped itself into an organization which is dealing relatively successfully with complex security and cooperative issues, through dialog among member states on the "platform of cooperative security,"[2] including the performance of several field activities.

## 2. From "Conference" to "Organization"

Since the goal of this thesis is to present the OSCE as a necessary security organization and to describe its role in a contemporary world, this research focuses on the time period after the end of the Cold War in the late 1980s through the post-Cold War era. Details from its 1975 to 1989 history are omitted.

Even though the end of Cold War caused some feelings of euphoria regarding the harmonic and non contentious development of international relations, the outbreak and dramatic development of war in the former Yugoslavia and instability in the former territories of the Soviet Union brought a more sober perspective and more intensive cooperation among CSCE member states. Another factor in the further development of European security was the spread of CSCE influence from Europe to Asia: all of the former Soviet Union Republics became CSCE members, and five out of fifteen are geographically located in Asia. From the perspective of one who is not familiar with the former Soviet Union federal establishment, it may seem that CSCE went beyond its “area of responsibility” or influence, but as explained by U.S. Ambassador (ret.) Robert Barry in response to the question of whether this activity is beyond OSCE commitments,

> By no means. The OSCE made a decision after the breakup of the USSR to include all successor states. Therefore it has 55 member states, each of which on joining takes on the commitments of the other OSCE states.[3]

Nevertheless, one of the most enthusiastic supporters of further development of the CSCE in 1990 was then Czechoslovak President Václav Havel. As a founding member

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[1] Romanian Student at NPS, interview, 25 May 2004.

[2] Niels H. Petersen, Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs and Chairman of OSCE, "A New European Security Model," published in NATO Review 6/97, available in the Czech military magazine Vojenské rozhledy 3/98. Internet, http://www.army.cz/mo/tisk/vojroz/1998_3/obse.htm; accessed 24 October 2004.

[3] Robert Barry, e-mail message to the author, 13 January 2005.

member and spokesperson for the anti-Communist movement Charter 77,[71] based on principles of the Helsinki Final Act and defending human rights, Havel perceived this new situation as a dream fulfilled, "New perspectives are open in front of Europe now that actually it never had before in history: to be a continent of peaceful and friendly cooperation of all nations, which live on its territory."[72] The notion was that both military blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Pact, would be terminated; a new organ of the CSCE, the European Security Committee, would be created; and the CSCE would be strengthened as the leading organization in the European Security Architecture. However, such predictions of non contentious development were too optimistic. The first OSCE Summit held after the end of the European bipolar separation took place in Paris in November 1990. The Summit was held in a festal atmosphere and all of the participants were seeking feasible and optimal steps to improve the CSCE as a prospective European security organization. Hence, the Charter for a New Europe, an evaluation of the political situation at that time was the most important document adopted during the Paris Summit. This Charter dealt with the progress of statehood with safe reliability, stability, and reciprocal confidence and security. Other topics covered in this document were national minorities, economics, social fairness, and responsibility for the natural environment. During the Paris Summit, the Heads of State or Government of NATO and the Warsaw Pact signed the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe as an act to strengthen confidence and security. Another task given to the CSCE member states by the Paris Charter was a commitment to institutionalization of the CSCE; however, this task was not fulfilled even by the next CSCE Summit in Helsinki in 1992. Despite the fact that the international community was working on new concepts of political consultations to strengthen the CSCE's role in conflict prevention, such as those discussed during the first and second Ministerial Councils in Berlin, 19 – 20 June 1991 and Prague, 30 – 31 January 1992, the events in the early 1990s drastically changed the European politico-military situation. Influenced by conflicts in the former Soviet territories and war in Yugoslavia, the Ministerial Councils developed documents for coming CSCE Summit,

[71] Radek Klampera, Declaration of Charter 77. Internet, http://members.tripod.com/~Klempera/charta77.htm; accessed 1 February 2005.

[72] Václav Havel, then President of Czechoslovakia. "An Address to Council of Europe" (Council of Europe Plenary Meeting, Strasbourg, 10 May 1990) available in Vladimír Leška, 107.

which took place in Helsinki on 10 July 2002 "The Challenges of Change." From the prospective point of view, the most important statement of the Helsinki 1992 document is,

> … CSCE is the regional convention according to the Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter. It represents important connecting element between the European and global security. Rights and responsibilities of the UN Security Council remain untouched as a whole. CSCE will closely cooperate with the UN, especially in prevention of conflicts and their reconciliation.[73]

Regionalization of UN security responsibilities and strengthening of the coordination role of the CSCE was a significant step towards a system of cooperative security. However, a new position requires new structure; hence, a mutually connected structural system with perceptible signs of international organization became visible. The second part of the Helsinki 1992 document established new institutions within the CSCE, such as the position of the Chairman-in-Office (CiO) and Troika (the Troika means a collective advisory group of the former, current, and future CiO), the Forum of Security Cooperation (FSC), a position of the High Commissioner for National Minorities, and a position of the CSCE Secretary General and its Office. Other changes involved some already existing institutions, e.g., the Office for Free Elections in Warsaw, established according to the Paris Summit decision, was renamed the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights to better explain its role in new security and environmental conditions. These changes were also closely connected to the regional arrangement that CSCE would be able to gather information from sources and experiences of other security organizations, such as the European Community, NATO, and WEU.[74] Following the Helsinki Summit, a consequential Ministerial Council took place in Stockholm, 14 – 15 December 1992. Its task was elaboration and realization of the Helsinki 1992 document's conclusions and decisions. Thus, the ministers adopted a new working document "the Strategy of Active Diplomacy," which addressed issues involving offenders and rule breakers and established constructive dialogues. The most important step in this evolution was a declaration of regional arrangement similar to

[73] Document of Helsinki 1992, Vladimír Leška, 130.

[74] Vladimír Leška, 131-133.

Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter. Following the declaration, the OSCE created a new institution, the High Commissioner on National Minorities, who established the Forum for Security Cooperation and an Economic Forum. The following Ministerial Council in Rome, 30 November – 1 December 1993, adopted another important document: "CSCE and the New Europe – Our Security is Indivisible." The Roma decisions contained an action program for CSCE activities, especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Georgia, Moldova, Tajikistan, and the Baltic States.[75] Another conclusion dealt with a deeper cooperation with the UN. The CSCE received the status of a UN General Assembly observer. Furthermore, the ministers decided to create another CSCE organ, the Permanent Council, as a forum for political consultations, for development of resolutions, and responsibility for operative issues. The Roma Ministerial Council also adopted the Declaration on Aggressive Nationalism, Racism, Chauvinism, Xenophobia, and Anti-Semitism, and stated that these phenomena are often cause by ethnic, social, and political tension within the states and instability in the region. The process of transition from Conference to Organization was rounded off during the Budapest Summit, 5 – 6 December 1994, when Heads of States or Government stated,

> The new era of security and cooperation in Europe has led to a fundamental change in the CSCE and to a dramatic growth in its role in shaping our common security area. To reflect this, the CSCE will henceforth be known as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).[76]

In sum, the Helsinki 1992 document outlined the further development of CSCE and its position within the security environment of the 1990s. The most significant decision adopted by the Heads of States or Government was the regional arrangement according to the UN Charter. Other decisions adopted by the Helsinki document were at least equally important, i.e., the cooperative and later collective system of European security, respect for human rights, democracy, principles of legal state, preventive diplomacy, and conflict prevention. Following Ministerial Councils revised and

[75] Vladimír Leška, 149.

[76] OSCE, A Reference Guide, 277.

elaborated the Summit's resolutions and decision into the new documents and they practically determined roles of newly established CSCE institutions. Such evolution within the CSCE had to brink further steps to improve its performance especially with establishment of the field activities and missions, which are going far beyond the routines of simple conference. In spite of the fact that undergoing negotiations were not as easy as this explanation and each of the member states defended its own position and interests, the transition into the higher organizational level seems to be obvious nowadays, as it is demonstrated by a ten-year experience.

### 3. Ten Years of the OSCE

Besides improving measures of institutional changes and strengthening several OSCE institutional positions, the Budapest Summit Declaration also contained important characteristics of the contemporary security situation in the OSCE region,

> The spread of freedoms has been accompanied by new conflicts and the revival of old ones. Warfare in the CSCE region to achieve hegemony and territorial expansion continues to occur. Human rights and fundamental freedoms are still flouted, intolerance persists and discrimination against minorities is practiced. The plagues of aggressive nationalism, racism, chauvinism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism and ethnic tension are still widespread. Along with social and economic instability, they are among the main sources of crisis, loss of life and human misery. They reflect failure to apply the CSCE principles and commitments. This situation requires our resolute action. We must work together to ensure full respect for these principles and commitments as well as effective solidarity and co-operation to relieve suffering.[77]

A decade of OSCE's existence as an organization strengthened its role among other security organizations, increasing the validity of its missions and field activities based on the commitments agreed to by the OSCE member states The 1996 OSCE Summit, held in Lisbon, Portugal, evaluated, among other agenda items, an institutionalization process from the Budapest Summit and consecutively adopted the Lisbon Declaration on a Common and Comprehensive Security Model for Europe for the Twenty-first Century "to strengthen security and stability throughout the OSCE

[77] OSCE, Budapest Summit Declaration, 21 December 1994. Internet, http://www.osce.org/docs/english/1990-1999/summits/buda94e.htm#Anchor-BUDAPES-37580; accessed 8 February 2005.

region."[78] Although the OSCE's efforts regarding its commitments are relatively successful on a political level, its strengthened presence in the field is the most visible change since 1995. Even though the OSCE opened its first missions in September 1992, in response to aggressive nationalism and an unstable security situation in the territory of the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the number of missions opened post January 1995 demonstrate increased cooperation among other security organizations and illustrate the new position of the OSCE. The last Summit took place in Istanbul, Turkey, in 1999. The Istanbul Summit Declaration – the Charter for European Security – again named the OSCE regional character under the Chapter VIII of the United Nation Charter, the Helsinki Final Act, and the Charter of Paris as its common commitments and the foundation for its work. The Summit also called for closer cooperation with other organizations as the platform for cooperative security, solidarity, and partnership, developing the OSCE's role in peacekeeping. In addition, it created the Rapid Expert Assistance and Cooperation Team (REACT), established an Operations Centre, and began developing law enforcement structures according to new police-related activities.[79]

During this time, enormous efforts were made to solve security problems, especially in South Eastern Europe, Caucasus, and Central Asia. However, in the beginning of the twenty-first century, other security threats have emerged, as evidenced by terrorist attacks on the U.S. on 11 September 2001 and Spain on 11 March 2003.

Just six days after the terrorist attacks against the USA, the 6th OSCE Human Dimension Implementation Meeting took place on 17 - 27 September 2001 in Warsaw, Poland. The meeting was the first OSCE organ to express sympathy to victims of the attacks. The 9th OSCE Ministerial Council took place in Bucharest, Romania, in December 2001. This Council adopted two important resolutions: a decision on combating terrorism and the Bucharest Plan of Action for Combating Terrorism. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Global War on Terrorism was declared by the U.S. government and NATO operations initially began to support American troops and their

[78] OSCE, Lisbon Summit Declaration, 2-3 December 1996. Internet, http://www.osce.org/docs/english/1990-1999/summits/lisbo96e.htm; accessed 21 February 2005.

[79] OSCE Istanbul Summit Charter for European Security, November 1999. Internet, http://www.osce.org/docs/english/1990-1999/mcs/9buch01e.pdf; accessed 12 January 2005.

activities before the multinational forces were formed. In short, the Global War on Terrorism includes the U.S. military response to the terrorist attacks, known as Operation Enduring Freedom. This Operation began in October 2001 in Afghanistan and targeted training bases of the terrorist organization Al-Quaeda; in the same name, the U.S. government decided to attack Iraq in March 2003 to eliminate the possible use of Weapons of Mass Destruction, including nuclear warheads. Afghanistan is currently on the path towards political and security stabilization, even the multinational NATO International Security Assistance Force operates there. OSCE first became involved in this process during the first Afghan presidential election held in October 2004, and its flexibility and operability is described by Robert Barry,

> We [OSCE] decided to go to Afghanistan for the election in July and deployed in September.[80]

Nevertheless, as mentioned above, OSCE development is a never ending process to fit an organization into the contemporary security requirements. All of the responsible political and executive bodies promptly react to recent situations, e.g., the OSCE involvement in the last Ukrainian presidential elections, after the second round of Ukrainian elections failed to address election irregularities and lacked transparency, or in the Kosovo Parliamentary Assembly elections However, critics of such development also appear. For example, some historical disputes remain among participating states, such as those between the former East (read the Soviet Union) and West. A Declaration of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), adopted during its July 2004 summit, could be used as an example. It critically evaluated OSCE as unable to respond to the demands of a changing world and accused OSCE of pursuing "double standards" in different parts of the world, i.e., in the countries of the CIS and the Balkans.

Robert Barry examines this situation in detail in his article "The OSCE at a Turning Point?"[81] and finds that the declaration, drafted by Russia, represents a Russian effort to promote its interests and influence on the OSCE through other member states of the CIS. Then OSCE Chairman-in-Office Solomon Passy, Bulgaria, stated that he is not

[80] Robert Barry, email message to author, 13 January 2005.

[81] Robert Barry, "The OSCE at a Turning Point?"

against OSCE transformation, however, as long as commitment to human rights and freedom remain unchanged. Following this criticism, Passy, expressing "Western flexibility," designed five main points for the coming Ministerial Council in Sofia, Bulgaria, in December 2004: increase financing for activities in the security and economic baskets, greater involvement of the CIS states in the direction of the OSCE, moving the centre of gravity of the OSCE eastward, strengthening the role of the OSCE Secretary General, and more emphasis on working with "Partners for cooperation." [82] This agenda was included in the 12th Ministerial Council and adopted in Sofia. Dimitrij Rupel, the new CiO for 2005 and the Slovenian Foreign Minister, began enforcing the agenda's conclusions in practical deeds.

## B. CURRENT OSCE STRUCTURES AND INSTITUTIONS

The OSCE structure is continuously evolving in relation to developments in the security environment and it has changed and adjusted according to contemporary security requirements. The current OSCE structure includes the negotiating and decision-making bodies of OSCE, such as the OSCE Summit, the Ministerial Council, the Permanent Council, the Senior Council and the Forum for Security Co-operation.

### 1. Negotiating and Decision-Making Bodies

Figure III-1 Negotiating and Decision-making Bodies (adapted from the OSCE Handbook)

The OSCE Handbook provides a brief and comprehensive description of each of the OSCE individual bodies, thus it is beneficial to use these descriptions in the following

82 Robert Barry, "The OSCE at a Turning Point?"

section. An overview of the main OSCE events and activities, along with a short description, are also presented in Chapter VI - Appendices.

> **Summits** are periodic meetings of Heads of State or Government of OSCE participating States that set priorities and provide orientation at the highest political level. The Heads of State or Government assess the situation in the OSCE area and provide guidelines for the functioning of the Organization.

The first Summit took place in Helsinki, Finland, in 1975 and adopted the CSCE basic founding document – the Final Helsinki Act. Since then, the participating States created a discussion platform dealing with then contemporary security issues relevant to the Cold War. The following Summit in Paris, France, in 1990, adopted, besides others e.g. "Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe," optimistic declaration "Charter of Paris for a New Europe" influenced by the end of the Cold War. The further development in 1990s convinced CSCE to change its approach to the European security challenges and the fourth OSCE Summit in Budapest, Hungary, in 1994, changed not only its name but also rounded off a transformation of CSCE to a valuable international organization. For the present, the last Summit took place in Istanbul, Turkey, in 1999 and adopted extensive agenda such as the "Charter for European Security" to strengthen OSCE by several measures aiming the cooperation with other security organizations and institutions, the OSCE role in peacekeeping operations, creating Rapid Expert Assistance and Cooperation Teams (REACT), ability to Police-relating activities, effective preparation and planning of rapid deployment of OSCE field operations and improve the consultation process within the OSCE. Each Summit is preceded by a review conference, where the implementation of OSCE commitments is reviewed and Summit documents are negotiated. [83]

> During the periods between summits, decision-making and governing power lies with the **Ministerial Council (MC)**, which is made up of the Foreign Ministers of the OSCE participating States. The Council meets at least once a year (but not on years when there is a summit).

[83] OSCE Handbook, 23.

The Ministerial Council, established by the "Charter of Paris for a New Europe," follows the former Council of Ministers for Foreign Affairs with a reaffirmed role as the central decision-making and governing body of the OSCE. It obtained "more extensive powers in the field of conflict prevention and crisis management" and following the Budapest Summit in 1994, it became a "pivotal political" ruler.[84]

> Based in Vienna, the **Permanent Council (PC)** is the regular body for political consultation and decision-making on all issues pertinent to the OSCE and is responsible for the day-to-day business of the Organization.

During weekly meetings in Vienna, OSCE member states' permanent representatives "exchange views on various issues pertaining to the OSCE." The OSCE Permanent Committee established in 1990, took over the day-to-day agenda in 1992, and was renamed by the Budapest Summit in 1994. Its original role was to meet in the period between meetings of the Committee of Senior Officials (CSO), now the Senior Council, "to conduct consultations on all issues pertinent to the OSCE." According to the Istanbul Summit in 1999, participants established a Preparatory Committee "to strengthen the process of political consultation and transparency within the Organization."[85]

> The **Senior Council (SC)**, meeting at the level of political directors from the various foreign ministries, was established to prepare the work and implement the decisions of the Ministerial Council and – between sessions of the Ministerial Council – to oversee, manage and coordinate OSCE affairs.

Although the SC, the former CSO, was originally established as a working group for the MC to elaborate and implement its decisions, the SC handed over the most of its responsibilities to the PC when the MC readjusted the CSO's role and its period of meetings in November 1993. Since 1997, the SC meets annually as the **Economic Forum** focused only on economic and environmental factors that affect security in the OSCE area.[86]

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[84] OSCE Handbook, 25.

[85] Ibid, 26.

[86] Ibid, 26-27.

> The **Forum for Security Cooperation**, consisting of representatives of the OSCE participating States, meets weekly in Vienna…to negotiate and consult on measures aimed at strengthening security and stability throughout Europe.

Its main objectives are arms control negotiations; regular consultations on security issues and risk of conflicts; implementation of agreed measures and confidence- and security-building measures discussed at weekly meetings in Vienna, Austria; and making relevant decisions related to military aspects of security in the OSCE area. The Forum for Security Cooperation also hosts Annual Implementation Assessment Meetings and prepares seminars on military doctrines.[87] U.S. Ambassador (ret.) Robert Barry evaluates the Forum for Security Cooperation as "a particularly effective body because it can draw on the military expertise of member states to implement and improve those confidence-building measures."[88]

The following figure illustrates the operational structure of other OSCE institutions, i.e., the Chairman-in-Office, the Secretariat, the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, the High Commissioner on National Minorities, the Representative on Freedom of the Media, Personal Representatives of the Chairman-in-Office, and the Parliamentary Assembly.

[87] OSCE Handbook, 27-28.

[88] Robert Barry, 24.

## 2. Operational Structures and Institutions

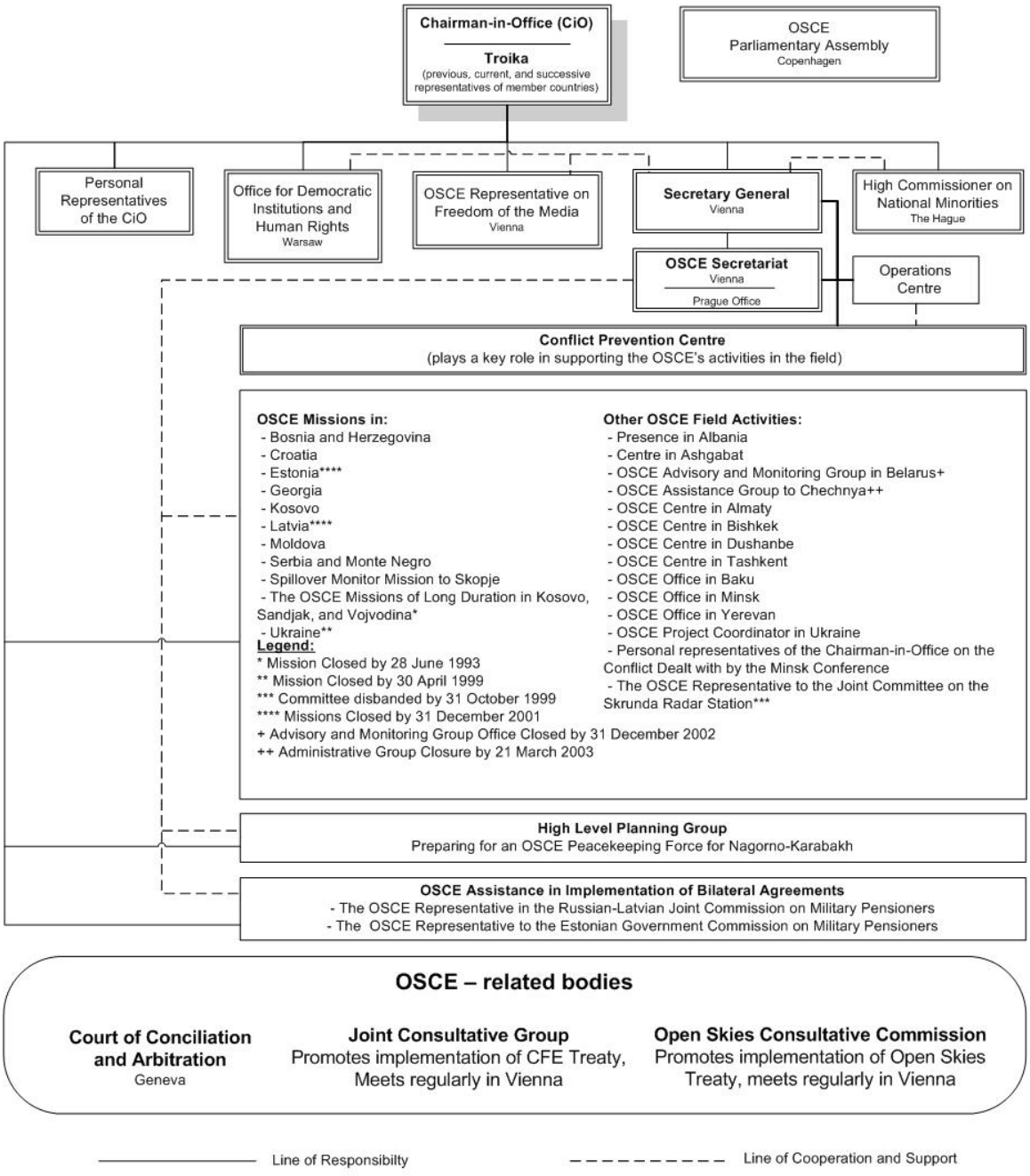


Figure III-2 Operational Structures and Institutions (adapted from the OSCE Handbook)

One of the positions in this structure was already mentioned, the **Chairman-in-Office**, who is responsible for,

> … executive action and the coordination of current OSCE activities. This includes: coordination of the work of OSCE Institutions, representing the Organization, and supervising activities related to conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict rehabilitation.
>
> The Chairmanship rotates annually, and the post of Chairman-in-Office is held by the Foreign Minister of a participating State.[89]

The previous and succeeding Chairmen assist the current Chairman-in-Office (CiO), to ensure a continuation of the organizational leadership. These three together constitute the Troika. To facilitate a quick response to possible security problems, the CiO has the right to appoint so called ad hoc steering groups or nominate Personal Representatives to deal with specific crises or conflict situations.[90] The CiO is supported by the Secretary General.

> The **Secretary General (SG)** acts as the representative of the CiO and supports him in all activities aimed at attaining the goals of the OSCE.

The SG is nominated by the MC for a term of three years, with the possibility of further extension. The SG's mandate involves many duties[91] including acting as the highest OSCE administrator, manager, or executive representative. Subordinated to the SG is the **OSCE Secretariat**, which provides logistical and operational support to the Organization. It is based in Vienna, and assisted by an office in Prague. The Secretariat tasks are as follows: support of OSCE field activities; maintain contacts with international and non-governmental organizations; provide conference and language services; and administrative, financial, personnel and information technology services.[92] The Secretariat has its own operational structure and the Conflict Prevention Centre is one of its most important organs regarding OSCE missions and field activities.

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[89] OSCE Handbook, 31.

[90] Ibid.

[91] OSCE web site, Secretary General. Internet, http://www.osce.org/secretariat/sg/index.php3, accessed 17 October 2004.

[92] OSCE Handbook, 32.

The **Conflict Prevention Centre** (CPC) supports the CiO and other OSCE negotiating and decision-making bodies in the fields of early warning, conflict prevention, crisis management, and post-conflict rehabilitation. It is also responsible for maintaining the Operations Centre "to identify potential crisis areas and plan future missions and operations."[93] The CPC, with regard to mission and field activities support, closely cooperates with other OSCE organs, such as the High Commissioner on National Minorities and the Representative on Freedom of the Media Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights.

The OSCE **Parliamentary Assembly**, established by the Paris Carter for a New Europe, constitutes the parliamentary dimension of the Organization. The primary task of the 317 member Assembly is to facilitate inter-parliamentary dialogue and promote greater involvement in the OSCE by national parliaments. The basic objectives of the Assembly are: to assess the implementation of OSCE objectives by participating States; discuss subjects addressed during meetings of the Ministerial Council and the Summits of Heads of State or Government; develop and promote mechanisms for the prevention and resolution of conflicts; support the strengthening and consolidation of democratic institutions in OSCE participating States; and contribute to the development of OSCE institutional structures and of relations and cooperation between existing OSCE institutions.[94]

## C. THE OSCE COMMITMENTS

The Helsinki Final Act adopted several principles and commitments during the first CSCE Summit in 1975. These principles and commitments were divided into three "baskets," each focused on a specific series of questions or issues The first basket dealt with questions related to European security. These questions focused on improving international relationships among participating states and defining explicit principles of mutual interest, including military security. The second basket dealt with cooperation in the sphere of economics, science and technology, as well as the natural environment. Because this basket involved a wide spectrum of specific problems, it was further divided

[93] OSCE Handbook, 32.

[94] Parliamentary Assembly. Internet, http://www.osce.org/publications/factsheets/pa_e.pdf; accessed 17 October 2004.

in other subcategories: commercial exchange; industrial, trade, and industrial cooperation and project exchange; sciences and technology; natural environment; and cooperation in other, unspecified areas (e.g., communications, transportation). The third basket dealt with questions relating to cooperation in humanitarian and other spheres, now called the human dimension. The third basket was also separated into further subcategories of cooperation: interpersonal relations; information, cooperation and exchange in culture; and cooperation and exchange in education.[95] Furthermore, the Final Act established principles for relations in the field of the geographical, historical, cultural, economic and political aspects of the OSCE member states with the non-participating Mediterranean States in the framework of their multilateral efforts.

### 1. The Basic OSCE Principles

The OSCE Final Act also adopted ten basic principles establishing rules for behavior among the participating states rising from moral commitments. Known as the the "Decalogue of the European Security,"[96] these principles are:

1. Sovereign equality, respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty
2. Refraining from the threat or use of force
3. Inviolability of frontiers
4. Territorial integrity of States
5. Peaceful settlement of disputes
6. Non-intervention in internal affairs
7. Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief
8. Equal rights and self-determination of peoples
9. Cooperation among States
10. Fulfillment in good faith of obligations under international law

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[95] OSCE, Final Act. Internet, http://www.osce.org/docs/english/1990-1999/summits/helfa75e.htm; accessed 9 February 2005.

[96] Vladimír Leška, 75.

## D. THE OSCE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS, INSTRUMENTS AND MECHANISMS

### 1. Decision-Making Process

"The OSCE's decision-making and negotiating bodies make their decisions by consensus."[97] As a result of this principle of OSCE participating States having equal status, the OSCE is an organization characterized by a cooperative approach to security. Nevertheless, in cases of clear violation of OSCE commitments, decisions can be made without consensus. This is the "consensus minus one" principle. Another exception to the principle of consensus is the "consensus minus two" rule. Under this rule, the Ministerial Council can instruct two participating States that are in dispute to seek conciliation, regardless of whether or not the participating States object to the decision.

The decision-making process takes place on three levels. The summits represent the highest level of decision-making and political approach of the Organization. Between the summits, the central decision-making powers lie with the Ministerial Council, which makes the decisions necessary to ensure that the activities of the Organization correspond to its central political goals. The Permanent Council is the forum for regular consultation and decision-making regarding the Organization's day-to-day activities. This structure is supplemented by periodic, specialized meetings, such as those of the Economic Forum or review and implementation meetings.[98] The decision-making process is coordinated by the Chairman-in-Office, who is responsible for setting the agenda and organizing the work of the OSCE's negotiating and decision-making bodies. The Chairman-in-Office also organizes informal meetings of representatives of participating states in order to facilitate discussion, statements and documents that are then formally adopted by the appropriate decision-making body.[99]

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[97] OSCE Handbook, 28.

[98] Ibid, 29.

[99] Ibid.

### 2. The OSCE Instruments

Unlike NATO and the EU, the OSCE must accomplish its goals using unarmed and political measures only. In sum, the OSCE has six measures or tools which could be deployed to accomplish its objectives. These are fact-finding and reporting missions, long-term missions or field activities, personal representatives of the Chairman-in-Office, ad hoc steering groups, mechanisms for peaceful settlements of disputes, and peacekeeping operations.[100]

**Fact finding missions** are short-term visits. These missions are focused on the "task of establishing facts, reporting on their findings and […] making recommendations to OSCE decision making bodies." Furthermore, these missions are used to monitor the implementation and progress of OSCE commitments, to assess the situation in states that want to become members of OSCE, and to investigate regions of conflict. Based on these facts, OSCE decides whether and what kind of mission/field activity should be established in the appropriate region.[101]

**Missions and field activities** represent the most important instrument of the OSCE. Generally, these are long-term engagements with a focus on conflict prevention, crisis management, conflict resolution, and post-conflict rehabilitation in conflict affected areas.[102]

The **personal representative of the Chairman-in-Office** and **the ad hoc steering group** are both means that are established to assist the Chairman-in-office. These two instruments are generally used to deal with conflict prevention, crisis management, and dispute resolution, but they are also applied in the case of arms control provision and fundraising implementation.[103]

Another tool used in conflict prevention is **the mechanism for peaceful settlement of disputes**. Unlike the instruments mentioned above, the decision making

[100] OSCE Handbook, 42-43.
[101] Ibid, 42.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid, 43.

process of this tool does not depend on consensus. Therefore, a rapid reaction by a limited number of states is possible in order to prevent eruptions of violence at an early stage.[1]

The last and newest instrument for the OSCE is involvement in **peacekeeping activities.** Although this element has not been used so far, “peace keeping activities may be undertaken in case of conflict within or among participating states to help maintain peace and stability.” The Istanbul Summit Charter for New Europe in 1999 emphasized that the OSCE participating states decided to "explore options for a potentially greater and wider role for the OSCE in peacekeeping," however, the safety threats that have appeared since then forced the international security organizations to define their positions on the security stage and specify their role and cooperation. The peacekeeping performed by the OSCE could not possibly mean the same as for the UN or NATO because of the OSCE's predominantly political settings and lack of necessary military forces and structures.

As outlined above, the instruments of OSCE cover a broad spectrum of unarmed and measures of détente. But their common purpose is to facilitate the political process in conflict areas and to keep the OSCE member states informed about developments in the areas experiencing conflict Furthermore it can be seen that issues of human dimensions, democracy, and rules of law are common to all OSCE missions and tasks.[2]

### 3. The OSCE Mechanisms

Decisions of the organization are neither politically nor legally binding on the participating States. The Organization itself is based on the political commitment of the participating States rather than on an international treaty.[3] On the other hand, it can use two kinds of mechanisms in efforts to enforce its decisions: the Vienna mechanism and the Moscow mechanism. These mechanisms are named after places where they were adopted by the OSCE member states. The Vienna mechanism, adopted by the Vienna Follow-Up Meeting 1989, deals with the human dimension,

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[1] OSCE Handbook, 43.

[2] Ibid, 45.

[3] Ibid, 28.

> obliges participating States to respond to request for information made by other participating States, and to hold bilateral meetings … and allows participating States to bring situations and cases in the human dimension to the attention of other participating States.

The 1991 Moscow Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE adopted another type of mechanism to solve arising problems in the human dimension and it,

> provides the option of sending missions of experts to assist participating States in the resolution of a particular question or problem relating to the human dimension of the OSCE. The mission of experts can either be invited by the participating State concerned, or initiated by a group of six or more participating States.

The Moscow Mechanism was evoked for the first time in 2003 regarding the security situation in Turkmenistan, where a people's movement in November 2002 was repressed and people were arrested, tortured and sentenced by show trials. Turkmenistan authorities did not follow their OSCE commitments, did not appoint a rapporteur, and above all, did not allow the special OSCE rapporteur to visit Turkmenistan.[107]

## E. PROSPECTS OF THE OSCE

According to the current development of the world security environment it is possible to assume the future of the OSCE.. Although the origins of the CSCE were different, as was the international security environment during the culmination of the Cold War, principles of cooperative security based on the right to choose remain the same. During the CSCE/OSCE's existence, these principles have been complemented, adjusted, and verified by practical experience.

The OSCE is involved in many programs improving a quality of life not only in local conflict affected areas by several dimensions and due to an appearance of new threats it is able swiftly respond on new security requirements. But it is able to be involved also in activities e.g. against terrorism, acceptance of democratic principles out

[107] U.S. delegation to OSCE, Statement by Mr. Ronald McNamara: Turkmenistan, 15 October 2003. Internet, http://www.cascfen.org/ok/modules.php?name=News&file=print&sid=907; accessed 11 February 2005.

of the OSCE territory, called "the Mediterranean Dimension,"[108] or oversee electoral process in every participating State including the U.S. territory.

After the terrorist attacks against the U.S. on 11 September 2001, the Ministerial Council in Bucharest, Romania, recognizing the lack of anti-terrorism capabilities of some OSCE member states, adopted the Action Plan Combating Terrorism in December 2001. This Action Plan, in addition of several other measures, created the Action Against Terrorism Unit (ATU). Its main task is to develop "an inventory of multilateral and bilateral anti-terrorism capacity-building measures,"[109] which is used as an information source for all OSCE member states. The ATU plays a role in the ratification and implementation process of twelve UN international conventions and protocols, passport and document security, countering threats to civil aviation, smuggling of radiological materials, and surveys of assistance programs.[110] Another newly established OSCE organ created in response to global terrorism is the OSCE Strategic Police Matters Unit (SPMU), which illustrates the changing role of the OSCE in its approach to international security and policing "to improve the protection of participating States against the emerging new risks and challenges posed by transnational and organized crime, arms, drugs and other forms of trafficking, the failure to uphold the rule of law, and human rights violations."[111] Unlike the ATU, the SPMU is an independent unit working in correspondence with the anti-terrorist regime of the OSCE Charter on Preventing and Combating Terrorism. The SPMU is a part of the OSCE Secretariat and "has a network of police advisers of its missions or field operations."[112] It is obvious that all of the anti-terrorism activities had to be coordinated with other involved actors, such as the UN, the EU, NATO, or the U.S.

The OSCE's focus on democratic values and their propagation is visible on its activities also out of its traditional territories of member states. Although the security

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[108] Chadwick R. Gore, "The Mediterranean Dimension Today: Seeds of Hope." U.S. CSCE Digest, Vol. 38, No. 3. Internet, http://www.csce.gov; accessed 19 January 2005.

[109] OSCE Factsheet: Action Against Terrorism Unit.

[110] Ibid.

[111] OSCE Factsheet: OSCE Strategic Police Matters Unit.

[112] Ibid.

cooperation between OSCE and countries around the Mediterranean Sea was established on its beginning in 1975, the recent development and growing interest in democracy by the Mediterranean States might bring a security and prosperity in the region. The relationship between these states – Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Morocco, and Tunisia – was reestablished according to new security conditions in the early 1990s, as the "Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation." Jordan was accepted as a cooperating Partner in 1998 and Afghanistan in 2003.[113] The Palestinian Authority's invitation to observe the Palestinian elections could be used as an example of the OSCE's role in spreading the principles of democracy and as acknowledgement that OSCE is the most experienced organization in electoral observation. Following the statement that "western involvement should collegial and not dogmatic,"[114] the Mediterranean States found their way towards democratic values and human rights.

The role of the OSCE in election observation and supervision could not be substituted, even if other organizations and institutions such as the CoE, the EU, or non-governmental organizations (NGO) send their observers. The supporting argument is the OSCE observation during the second round of the Ukrainian and the U.S. Presidential elections in fall 2004. The OSCE played a crucial role in evaluation of the second round of Presidential elections in Ukraine. The OSCE and other observer teams reported a significant absence of principles for free and fair elections during the electoral process, but the OSCE significantly contributed to revising the process and ensuring a free and fair second round. Finally, the second round of the Ukrainian Presidential election took place at a very unusual time, 26 December 2004; the OSCE was represented by hundreds of its election observers, there to assure the electoral process. Since people of the U.S. are not very informed about the U.S. membership in international organizations, i.e., the OSCE, they were surprised by the news that the OSCE deployed an international team, the Election Observation Mission, to observe the U.S. Presidential elections in November 2004. Like elsewhere, the OSCE mission was to fulfill its tasks to observe fairness and regularity in the electoral process, assess the conditions and preparation for the elections,

[113] Chadwick R. Gore, "The Mediterranean Dimension Today: Seeds of Hope," U.S. CSCE Digest, Vol. 38, No. 3. Internet, http://www.csce.gov; accessed 19 January 2005.

[114] Ibid.

and to monitor opening of polling stations, the voting process, ballot counting, and tabulating results at all levels.[115]

Further development of the OSCE was outlined during the 12th Ministerial Council held in December 2004. Among the institutional changes considered were the MC decisions about strengthening the OSCE Secretary General's role. It was reaffirmed that the OSCE SG is responsible for implementation of OSCE decisions on all levels; his/her activities support the CiO, and the SG acts as the CiO's personal representative. Then, as Chief Administrative Officer of the OSCE, the SG assists the Permanent Council, implements financial regulations and rules, and among many other duties, oversees the management of OSCE field operations and coordinates their operational work. Among other measures considered to revitalize OSCE's operational abilities, the 12th MC adopted a decision on "establishment of a panel of eminent persons on strengthening the effectiveness of the OSCE"[116] to start a dialog and provide strategic vision for the OSCE in the 21st century. They also adopted sevdecision on improving the efficiency and effectiveness of the Economic forum.[117]

In January 2005, the Slovenian Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel became the OSCE CiO and immediately began changing the OSCE. I It seems obvious that events that transpired in 2004, such as CIS complaints and their suggestions "to begin constructive reforms aimed at making the OSCE a truly effective organization,"[118] influenced not only the 12th MC agenda but also the role of the incoming CiO.

Minister Rupel's first address to the OSCE Permanent Council signified his attention to the OSCE transformation through revitalization, reform, and rebalancing, and also expressed his belief that OSCE field operations are the "jewel in the crown."[119] During his first two months in office, Minister Rupel visited Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan,

[115] ODIHR Election Observation Mission to the United States. Internet, http://www.osce.org/documents/odihr/2004/11/3779_en.pdf; accessed 14 February 2005.

[116] The first meeting of the Eminent Persons Group took place on 17 February 2005 in Slovenia.

[117] OSCE, Ministerial Council Decisions No. 10, 15, 16/04, 7 December 2004. Internet, http://www.osce.org; accessed 19 January 2005.

[118] Robert Barry, "The OSCE at a Turning Point?"

[119] OSCE, CiO address to PC, 13 January 2005. Internet, http://www.osce.org/news/generate.pf.php3?news_id=4654; accessed 17 January 2005.

Serbia and Monte Negro, and NATO Headquarters Brussels, as the OSCE representative. Following such efforts, the OSCE certainly stands among other international security organizations as a useful instrument for negotiations, a forum for arms control, and an advocate in the fight against human being trafficking, terrorism and many other international security issues arising from OSCE's commitments and the participating States' will of choice.

# IV. THE OSCE MISSIONS

The OSCE missions and field activities are, in fact, some of the most visible and fundamental instruments used by the OSCE to fulfill its commitments, especially those related to human, economic, environmental, and politico-military dimensions. The most significant dimension is a human dimension and its activities are focused on education, electoral reforms and processes, democratization of society, rule of law, human rights, refugees and displaced persons, and development of the media. Long-term missions are usually established by Permanent Council decision and controlled by the Secretary General through the Conflict Prevention Centre (CPC). Most of the short-term missions, e.g., election monitoring missions, are managed, trained, and controlled by the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR).

## A. GENERAL OVERVIEW

Long-term missions became the OSCE's main means of monitoring developing situations in conflict affected areas, assisting the local authorities when necessary, and providing help in rebuilding local institutions in the fields of "early warning, preventive diplomacy, conflict management, and post-conflict rehabilitation"[120] during 1990s. Historically, the first CSCE field operations were launched specifically in relation to security problems of aggressive nationalism in the newly recognized independent republics of the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.. The OSCE Missions of Long Duration in Kosovo, Sandjak and Vojvodina began on 8 September 1992, only two days before the OSCE Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje was opened by fact-finding visit on 10 September 1992. Even though the mission in Kosovo, Sandjak, and Vojvodina concluded in June 1993 due to a lack of consensus regarding its extension, the mission in Skopje continues, and since then, OSCE activities and its presence in the field have become a new and ongoing phenomenon. In addition, the financial aspects of OSCE expenditures for missions are minimal in comparison to other missions pursued by other organizations with an extensive bureaucratic apparatus. The cost efficiency is effective because the international staff, deployed in the field as mission members or election

[120] OSCE Handbook, 45.

observers, is seconded from the individual participating states and ninety percent of the OSCE contracted or seconded staff is deployed in the field. Even though Robert Barry in his work[121] mentions some personnel problems with the international seconded staff, his opinion about the entire seconding system is optimistic,

> Seconding works pretty well – for almost four years I operated with seconded staff, and preferred that to dealing with UN personnel, who were on UN staff but could not be fired or told what to do.[122]

In November 1990, the Paris Charter for New Europe established a Ministers' of Foreign Affairs Council, as the central forum for political consultations, and other institutions such as the Senior Council, the Conflict Prevention Centre, and the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. The OSCE Ministerial Council Meetings in 1991 and 1992 agreed on a mechanism for consultation and cooperation according to developments in critical situations, and underlined the need to strengthen the abilities of the CSCE to prevent crises, such as in the former Yugoslavia and Nagorno Karabakh, later expanded to Caucasus and Central Asia.[123]

The Conflict Prevention Centre is "one of the main departments of the Secretariat of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe"[124] in Vienna. During the years since its creation in 1991, its assignments and responsibilities have grown to include a leading role in operational support for missions in the field, and maintaining a recruiting databank and communication networks.[125] In other words, the CPC is responsible for every practical performance of missions in the field, selection of adequate personnel working for OSCE missions and other field activities, procuring their equipment, communication and many other tasks. Its growing role is evidenced by an increase in field activities from three in 1992 to twenty-two in 2004. Although the OSCE

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[121] Robert Barry, "The OSCE: A Forgotten Transatlantic Security Organization?"

[122] Robert Barry, email to the author, 13 January 2005.

[123] OSCE Handbook, 44.

[124] OSCE Factsheet: Conflict Prevention Centre. Internet, http://www.osce.org/publications/factsheets; accessed 4 October 2004.

[125] Ibid.

Missions on the Balkan Peninsula are the best known, the OSCE "is the only security organization active in Central Asia – aside, nominally, for the UN."[126]

The following tables display OSCE's current and largest missions and other field activities. Information displayed includes dates of deployment in the field, personnel, and budgets as of 2004, separated according to function. From the following surveys it is obvious that OSCE missions were created "in response to crises caused by the breakup of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union."[127]

### 1. The Long-Term Missions

| | Mission and Field Activities | Deployment /Duration | International Personnel | Budget 2004 € |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Long – Term Missions** | OSCE Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje, fYR of Macedonia | September 1992 | 190 (2003) | 13,745,600.- |
| | OSCE Mission to Georgia | December 1992 | 111 (winter)<br>140 (summer) | 21,271,900.- |
| | OSCE Mission to Moldova | April 1993 | 10 | 1,498,200.- |
| | OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina | December 1995 | 140 | 19,453000.- |
| | OSCE Mission to Croatia | August 1996 | 280 (1997)<br>67 (2002) | 10,404,300.- |
| | OSCE Mission in Kosovo | July 1999 | 350 | 42,661,500.- |
| | OSCE Mission to Serbia and Monte Negro | January 2001 | 37 | 9,860,300 |

Table IV-1 The OSCE Long-Term Missions

The long-term OSCE missions represent the largest OSCE investment of financial and personnel funds for maintaining security, stability, reconciliation, and institutional rebuilding. The first decision to establish such a mission was accepted during the second Helsinki Summit in 1992. Consecutively, according to further experiences in the field, the 1999 Istanbul Summit concluded that "the establishment of the field missions had

[126] Robert Barry, email message to author, 13 January 2005.

[127] Robert Barry, 26.

transformed the organization."[128] The mandate of each mission is different and each mission differs as influenced by the surrounding cultural, geopolitical, and infrastructural environment. For example, some OSCE mission members live in houses, travel on normal roads, and talk to educated local authorities (e.g., Croatia); on the other hand, others live in tents on high mountains, travel by off road cars on roads without pavement, and monitor and report on various activities in valleys or ridges very far from any sign of civilization (e.g., Georgia).

### 2. Other OSCE Field Activities

| | Mission and Field Activities | Deployment /Duration | International Personnel | Budget 2004 € |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Other OSCE Field Activities** | OSCE Presence in Albania | April 1997 | 38 | 3,775,900.- |
| | OCSE Centre in Almaty, Kazakhstan | January 1999 | 3 | 1,511,000.- |
| | OCSE Centre in Ashgabad, Turkmenistan | January 1999 | 5 | 1,126,500.- |
| | OCSE Centre in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan | January 1999 | 6 | 1,911,300.- |
| | OCSE Centre in Dushanbe, Tajikistan - former OSCE Mission to Tajikistan | November 2002 | 15 | 3,855,300.- |
| | OCSE Centre in Tashkent, Uzbekistan | June 1995 | 4 | 1,618,100.- |
| | OSCE Office in Minsk, Belarus | February 2003 | 5 | 942,100.- |
| | OSCE Project Coordinator in Ukraine | July 1999 | 2 | 1,085,300.- |
| | OSCE Office in Yerevan, Armenia | February 2000 | 7 | 1,339,000.- |
| | OSCE Office in Baku, Azerbaijan | July 2000 | 6 | 1,557,600.- |

Table IV-2 Other OSCE Field Activities

[128] The OSCE Istanbul Summit Declaration in Robert Barry, "The OSCE: A Forgotten Transatlantic Security Organization?" 26.

The other OSCE field activities play a similar role in the field as those, so called long-term missions. Also, their focus on further political development in their areas of responsibility and use of the OSCE tools is similar, but they represent low manpower activities, especially in the former republics of the Soviet Union where the OSCE “increased the OSCE "increased its involvement in the region by establishing presence in each of the five states of Central Asia."[129] The only consequential activities are the OSCE in Dushanbe, following the former OSCE Mission to Tajikistan, and the OSCE Project Coordinator in Ukraine, which was established three months after the OSCE Mission to Ukraine was closed. An exception is the OSCE Presence in Albania, which was established after the OSCE assessment of the breakdown of law and order throughout Albania in April 1997. When the security situation was stabilized, the OSCE focused its interest on the internal issues of Albania, such as elections in July 1997 and political and social reforms of the country. During the crisis in neighboring Kosovo, the Presence had spread its activities to the Albania-Kosovo border, monitoring and playing "a key role in coordinating international and Albanian response to the refugee crisis in the country."[130] Together with the OSCE efforts, Albania achieved political stabilization and is on the path towards democratization of society.

### 3. Activities in Relation to the Minsk Conference (Nagorno-Karabakh)

| OSCE Activities Regarding the Conflict Dealt with by the Minsk Conference | Mission and Field Activities | Deployment /Duration | International Personnel | Budget 2004 € |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Minsk Process | March 1995 | | 953,300 |
| | Personal Representative of the Chairman-in-Office on the Conflict Dealt with by the Minsk Conference, Tbilisi, Georgia | January 1997 | 1 + 5 Field Assistants | 890,000.- |
| | Initial Operation Planning Group<br>High – Level Planning Group, Vienna | May 1993 | 8 (military-seconded)<br>1 (non-military-contracted) | 211,900.- |

Table IV-3 OSCE Activities Relating the Conflict Dealt with by the Minsk Conference

[129] OSCE Factsheet: OSCE Centre in Almaty.

[130] OSCE Factsheet: OSCE Presence in Albania.

Activities related to the Minsk Conference are connected to the OSCE's effort to find a political solution to the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh, Azerbaijan. The Minsk Conference is a process to convene a conference, established by the Helsinki Additional Meeting of the CSCE in March 1992, to open constructive negotiations about a peace settlement in the area following the OSCE basic principles, commitments, and provisions.[131] In December 1994, the CiO issued a mandate for the Co-Chairman of the Minsk Process to implement the Budapest Summit 1994 decisions. The Budapest Summit also expressed the will of the OSCE member states to deploy multinational peacekeeping forces in the area and established the High-Level Planning Group (HLPG) to intensify action in relation to the conflict. It superseded an earlier Initial Operation Planning Group (IOPG), which was established in May 1993. However, the OSCE peacekeeping operation was not deployed until recent time; but the CiO appointed his Personal Representative to focus on resolving the conflict in January 1997.

### 4. Assistance and Implementation Activities

| | Mission and Field Activities | Deployment /Duration | International Personnel | Budget 2004 € |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| OSCE Assistance in Implementation of Bilateral Agreement | The OSCE Representative to the Latvian-Russian Joint Commission on Military Pensioners | February 1995 | 1 | 12,200.- |
| | The OSCE Representative to the Estonian Expert Commission on Military Pensioners | November 1994 | 1 | 123,300.- |

Table IV-4 OSCE Assistance in Implementation of Bilateral Agreement

The main tasks of the OSCE Representatives in the commissions, which are dealing primarily with Russian military pensioners settled in countries of the former Soviet Union other than Russia, are to participate in their meetings, assist in the implementation of agreements, and participate in the adoption of recommendations and decisions made on the basis of consensus. Even though the OSCE's current presence in the Baltic States seems to be inadequate in the field of protection of national minorities'

[131] OSCE Survey of Long-Term Missions.

rights, the process of democratization in these countries can be described as successful in that Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania achieved full membership in the European Union and NATO in 2004

### 5. Closed Missions

| | Mission and Field Activities | Deployment /Duration | International Personnel | Note |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Closed Missions** | The OSCE Missions of Long Duration in Kosovo, Sandjak and Vojvodina | September 1992<br>- June 1993 | Originally 12<br>Nov 1992 – 20<br>Jan 1993 – 40 | No agreement on further extension |
| | The OSCE Kosovo Verification Mission | November 1998<br>- March 1999 | Feb 1999 - 1500 | Withdrawn due the beginning of the NATO Air Strikes |
| | The OSCE Representative to the Joint Committee on the Skrunda Radar Station | July 1995<br>- October 1999 | 1 | Joint Committee decision to disband |
| | OSCE Mission to Tajikistan | February 1994<br>- October 2002 | Feb 94 – 4<br>Jul 95 – 7<br>Jun 97 – 11<br>Dec 00 – 15<br>Jan 02 – 16 | OSCE PC changed Mission to the OSCE Centre in Dushanbe |
| | The OSCE Mission to Ukraine | November 1994<br>- April 1999 | Nov 1994 – 6<br>Dec 1997 – 4 | No further extension |
| | The OSCE Mission to Estonia | February 1993<br>- December 2001 | 6 | No further extension |
| | The OSCE Mission to Latvia | November 1993<br>- December 2001 | Nov 1993 – 4<br>Dec 1993 – 6<br>Jul 1994 – 7 | No further extension |
| | The OSCE Assistance Group to Chechnya<br>April 1995 – Groznyy<br>December 1998 – Moscow | April 1995<br>- March 2003 | 6 | No further extension |
| | The Advisory and Monitoring Group in Belarus | January 1998<br>- December 2002 | 1 + 4 experts | Decision of the OSCE PC to close AMG |

Table IV-5 The Closed OSCE Missions

When an international security organization closes any of its missions, it is because: the mission successfully accomplished its predetermined tasks and further

maintaining it is irrelevant; the mission was transformed into another stage of its performance; or its mandate was not extended further. One could assume that a mission simply failed if it left a country before successfully consolidating the political and social environment. Although none of the OSCE missions are considered failures, some critics might notice that the OSCE Missions of Long Duration in Kosovo, Sandjak and Vojvodina (Missions in KSV), the OSCE Kosovo Verification Mission (KVM), or the OSCE Assistance Group to Chechnya (AG) did not achieve the required consolidated political and social environment.

The OSCE Missions in KSV were deployed in September 1992 to promote a dialog between state authorities and regional representatives from Kosovo, Sandjak, and Vojvodina, to collect information on all aspects of violations of human rights, freedoms, and protection of national minorities. They were withdrawn in July 1993, after the government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia refused the CSCE's request to extend the mission. It should be mentioned that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's membership in the OSCE was suspended in 1992 as a result of its involvement in the armed conflicts in the Balkan Peninsula. The OSCE mission to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Monte Negro) was reestablished in January 2001 based on the invitation of the Yugoslavian Government. The KVM was established in November 1998 and withdrawn in March 1999 due the worsening security situation in the region and the beginning of the NATO Air Campaign against Serbian targets in Kosovo and Serbia. Robert Barry evaluates the KVM withdrawal,

> I don't think the KVM failed. What happened was that the Serb military pushed ahead with expelling Albanians, and NATO concluded that only military action had the capability of fixing things. Therefore KVM was withdrawn. Of course OSCE went back to Kosovo after the war, and has done a good job.

Another situation is the OSCE AG to Chechnya, which was deployed in Groznyy in April 1995 and administratively dissolved in March 2003. The security situation forced the OSCE to evacuate the AG's international staff from the region to Moscow in December 1998 and the local staff to Ingushetia in September 1999.[132] The AG returned

[132] OSCE Factsheet: OSCE Assistance Group to Chechnya.

to its former outstation in June 2001. Its mandate was then extended until December 2002 as the last one. Even though the Russian delegation to the OSCE pushed OSCE to monitor elections in Chechnya, the lack of security in the region and a presumption of the unfair election framework made OSCE oppose Russian tactics there.[133]

## B. ASSESSMENT OF THE OSCE MISSIONS TO BALKAN COUNTRIES

The beginning of conflicts on the Balkan Peninsula, the so called Balkan wars, was connected to the separation of Slovenia and Croatia from the Yugoslav Federation in spring 1991. The conflicts erupted when Serbs tried to maintain the federation with new election rules – one person had one vote within the entire federation. This new rule signified a leading role for the Serbs in the country. Nonetheless, Croatia proclaimed sovereignty in June 1991 following the result of a referendum held on its territory in May 1991. Because such referendum and independence proclamation "was illegal, under Yugoslav and international law," it was certain to precipitate civil war.[134] In response, the representatives of the Serbian minority in Croatia announced their cultural autonomy requiring things such as their own language and church. However, the Croatian authorities did not accept the Serbs' national requirements, which were accompanied by demonstrations aggressively supporting the establishment of Serbian cultural autonomy. Nevertheless, the Serbs proclaimed their autonomy as "Srbska Krajina" all around the Croatian borders with Bosnia and Herzegovina and their movement became known as a Serbian insurgency. According to local people in Daruvar,[135] Serbs disappeared during one night from the town and suburban neighborhoods. In three days, the centre of Daruvar town was bombarded by Serbian mortar shells from surrounding mountains and the armed conflict began. In April 1992, the armed conflict began in Bosnia and Herzegovina, first between Serbs against Croats and Bosnians, later among all three ethnic groups. The clashes in Kosovo have different origins except the belligerence from the Serbian side. An Albanian minority stirred up disobedience and the insurgency against the Serbs in Kosovo and established the Kosovo Liberation Army. The

[133] Robert Barry, email to author, 13 January 2005.

[134] Diana Johnstone, "Seeing Yugoslavia Through a Dark Glass: Politics, Media, and the Ideology of Globalization." Internet, http://mujweb.cz/www/kutija/caq67.htm; accessed 9 March 2005.

[135] Author's personal survey during assignment as a member of the OSCE Mission to Croatia, 1999.

government of Serbia and Monte Negro, lead by then President Slobodan Milošević, sent army troops against the Kosovo Albanian insurgency, but those fights seemed mostly as crusades and genocide expeditions.

### 1. OSCE Mission to Croatia

Figure IV-1 Croatia (from the OSCE Mission to Croatia website)

The OSCE Mission to Croatia was created in April 1996 by OSCE Permanent Council decision No. 112. The original mission mandate was "to provide advice and assistance in the field of human rights, democratization and rule of law."[136] The best way to explain these words is to describe the makeup of personnel in one OSCE Field Office. Each of the offices consisted of four international human rights monitors, one international police monitor and a local staff: five field assistants, one lawyer, one administration officer and one driver. According to the OSCE basic commitments, the

[136] Robert Barry, "The OSCE: A forgotten Transatlantic Security Organization?"

role of the mission was to probe and monitor an actual situation and report the findings through established channels up to the Permanent Council, in cooperation with other international governmental and nongovernmental organizations, such as the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), British Echo, Red Cross, and others. Therefore, each of the international monitors was responsible for different areas of interests according to the adopted agreements and programs between the international organizations and the Croatian government: areas included return of refugees and displaced persons, democratization, reconstruction, reconsolidation, and freedom of the media. Contacts with interested individuals, groups and organizations were counted among these activities as well. The significant problems in Bjelovar-Bilogora County were to implement the program for the return of refugees, reconstruction, and housing in general. The Croatian government, led by then President Franjo Tudjman, invited Croat ethnic groups from Kosovo and Bosnia to settle in Croatia in abandoned Serb houses. However, after the program for the return of refugees was adopted, the Serb houses were occupied or blown up. Even though the international community invested a lot of money for housing reconstruction, there was still a lack of available accommodation. Not all of the houses that were blown up were considered as damaged in war because they were ruined intentionally by local neighbors in acts of crime. In that circumstance, there was no chance for international assistance and these instances became cases for governmental organizations. The situation in Bjelovar-Bilogora County seemed like a vicious circle, but it was only a question of time to solve these problems. Finally, after elections were held in January 2000, the role of further development in Croatia was handed over to democratic parties of an anti-nationalist coalition, who initiated the required legislative changes and Croatia became a suitable partner in the international community. The police-monitoring mission ended in 2000 and the international staff was decreased from two hundred fifty in 2000 down to sixty-five in 2004. Their task is to monitor resisting nationalist officials in various levels of public positions, and to further democratic development in Croatia.

## 2. OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina

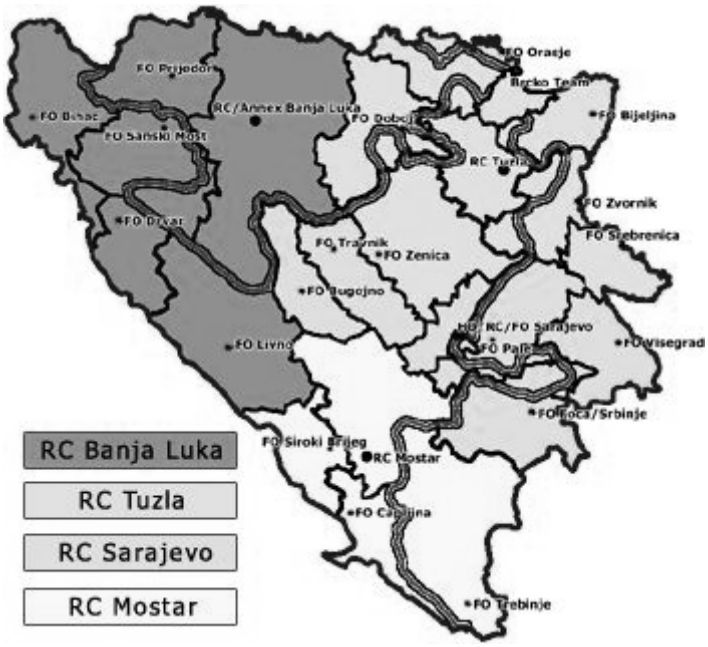


Figure IV-2 Bosnia and Herzegovina (from the OSCE Mission to BiH website)

The conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) broke out in April 1992. From 1992 to 1995, the United Nations was dealing with security, stabilization, and consolidation in the region but without tangible success. Even though the OSCE had been given a central role in implementing the civilian aspects of the Dayton Agreement in December 1995, the beginning of the OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina was confusing and did not operate as intended. It played mostly a coordinating role, but with an increasing number of tasks and responsibilities, the OSCE mission, as one subject of an organization, and the UN ceded their responsibilities to another individual subject, the OSCE Office of High Representative. The UN Mission then refocused its interest on rebuilding Bosnian police forces and the new OSCE High Representative became the Special Representative of the European Union. Similar to other OSCE missions, the OSCE Mission to BiH played a role in the field of human rights, democratization and rule of law; however this mission task included responsibilities for creating all necessary conditions for free and fair elections, implementation of arms control, and confidence-building among the concerned sides, Croats, Bosnians, and Serbs. Another important task

was the promotion of a free and independent media. The Dayton agreement finished the armed conflict and divided the country into two entities, the Federation of Croats and Bosnians and the Republic of Serbs. Most of the successes achieved by this mission were accomplished through constant pressure and insistent demands to respect basic human rights and adhere to agreed upon programs. The OSCE Mission to BiH is assessed from several points of view according to the Basic Research Report of the British American Security Information Council: Elections, Democratization, Human Rights in General, Military Stabilization, Police Education and development and Media Affairs. Although the first assumption was that the OSCE mission would last for a short time two years at most, it is now the longest operating OSCE mission since 1995. The development in election issues has continued to expand: from elections managed by OSCE international long-term and short-term supervisors to elections managed by local official authorities and only supervised by OSCE international supervisors. From my personal experience as a three time election supervisor in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1997, 1998, and 2001, elections in 1997 were organized and led by international supervisors. However, elections in 2001 were fully managed by the local electoral committees; one supervisor was responsible for several polling stations, and he had to be present in only one polling station during the counting process. According to the new Head of the OSCE Mission to BiH, Ambassador Douglas Davidson, "The recent municipal elections (25 October 2004) have been another significant achievement. This was the first post-war poll to be both wholly organized and funded by the BiH authorities."[137] Such progress might be considered a result of the process of confidence-building and democratization within the country, and there are even a number of other programs, such as Municipal Infrastructure Finance and Implementation (MIFI), which made a major contribution to political and economic stabilization in the region. Human rights programs deal mostly with problems of education as well as returnees and their rights to security, water, and electricity after the end of conflict. Military stabilization is a challenging process of demilitarization and disarmament. The continuous efforts of the OSCE representatives helped enforce the idea

[137] Ambassador Douglas Davidson, Head of the OSCE Mission to BiH: Statement by the Head of Mission to the OSCE Permanent Council. Internet, http://www.oscebih.org/public/print_news.asp?id=874; accessed 14 February 2005.

of the reorganization and downsizing of the two entity armed forces since 1997. These efforts were strongly supported by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, which insisted on reduction of military spending. NATO exerted its influence on the reduction of two Bosnia and Herzegovina military forces and their downsizing as a condition for inclusion into the international program, Partnership for Peace. The result of this systematic pressure is that the entity armed forces have been reduced to one-third of their size in 1997.

### 3. OSCE Mission in Kosovo

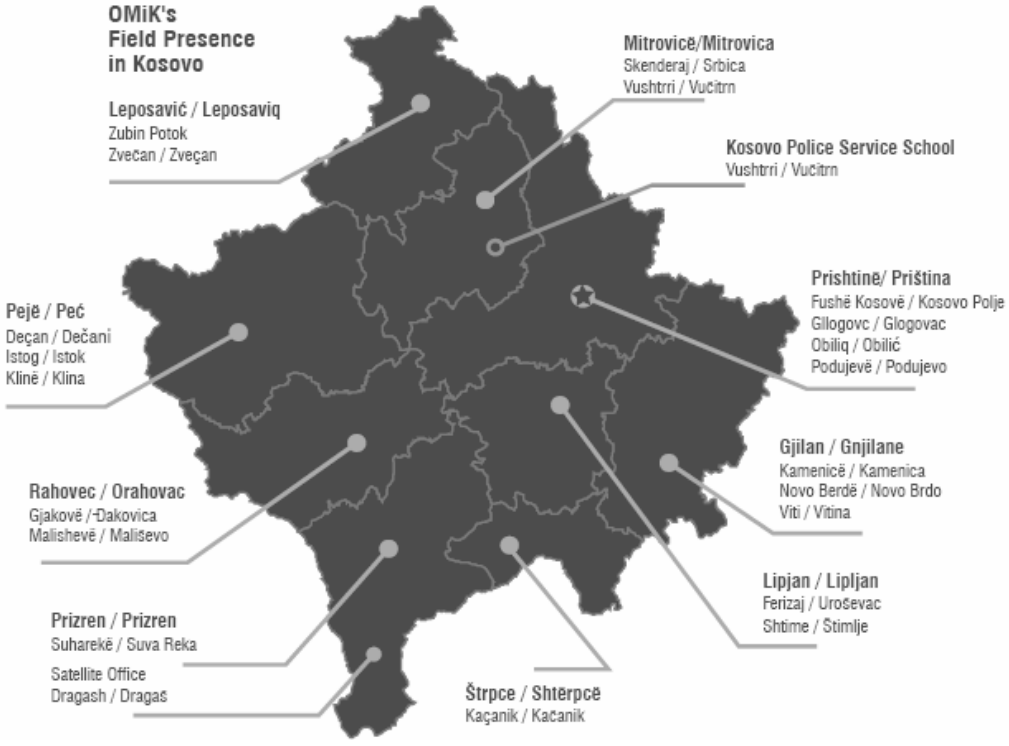


Figure IV-3 Kosovo (from the OSCE Mission to Kosovo website)

The OSCE Mission in Kosovo is a part of the OSCE field activities in Europe to promote human rights and better living conditions for people in post-war, post-conflict, or politically unstable areas. This mission was established by OSCE Permanent Council Decision No. 305 in July 1999 as the third OSCE mission in the region. In very close

cooperation with the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo, it "takes the leading role in matters relating to Human Resources Capacity and Institution Building and Human Rights."

As a part of the Mission overview, it is good to add that the present OSCE Mission in Kosovo was preceded by the OSCE Missions to Kosovo, Sandjak and Vojvodina from September 1992 to June 1993[138] before escalation of violence in the region, and the OSCE Kosovo Verification Mission from October 1998 to March 1999. The main task of the Kosovo Verification Mission was, in accordance with United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1160 and 1199, to verify the cease-fire between the Serbian Armed Forces and the Kosovo Liberation Army, to monitor movement of their forces, and to promote human rights for all Kosovo residential nationalities, Kosovo Albanians, Kosovo Serbians, and others. After the situation worsened early in 1999 and the NATO Air Campaign began, the Kosovo Verification Mission was withdrawn from Kosovo in March 1999.

The OSCE Mission in Kosovo was deployed in the region immediately after the OSCE Permanent Council Decision was issued in July 1999. It was formed as a cooperating component of the United Nations Mission in Kosovo, with 350 international monitors and 1.150 members of local staff, making it the largest OSCE presence in the field.[139] The Head of the OSCE Mission is also appointed as Deputy Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General for Institution-Building. According to the OSCE public affairs statement,

> The Mission in Kosovo represents for the OSCE a new step in fostering cooperation between international organizations. For the first time, the OSCE is an integral part of an operation led by the United Nations. The OSCE also closely interact with its other major partners, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, the Council of Europe and the European

[138] OSCE Mission Surveys: The OSCE Missions of Long Duration in Kosovo, Sandjak and Vojvodina. Internet, http://www.osce.org/publications/survey/survey26.htm; accessed 14 October 2004.

[139] OSCE Field Activities: OSCE Mission in Kosovo – Overview. Internet, http://www.osce.org/kosovo/overview/; accessed 14 February 2005.

> Union. This involves both cooperation on specific projects and mutual support in terms of logistics and access to office facilities. The Mission also maintains close links with the Kosovo Stabilization Force (KFOR), which provides a secure environment for OSCE activities in Kosovo.[140]

These words are taken from the OSCE Mission in Kosovo Overview. They are a precious expression of the OSCE position amongst other organizations in the security environment and they highlight an understanding of OSCE's new approach towards cooperation with other international, governmental and non-governmental organizations.

It is obvious that the OSCE is represented by more than the three missions referenced above or its other field activities. These missions do however, serve as examples of well-known long-term missions which are more or less successful and played a leading role in stabilizing post-conflict situations, rebuilding confidence among nations and individual people, and institutional building. Another OSCE mission monitors the border between Georgia and the Russian Federation, and another is assigned to represent the OSCE presence of international organization in the field only. All of them help promote efforts of democratization and development in the regions. Some may see the OSCE as a creature without teeth, but continuous political or economic pressure might be successful when weapons have nothing more to say.

## C. CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

The OSCE is an important element contributing to the European security environment. Like the UN, the OSCE seeks opportunities to participate in solving and handling the most significant security threats. The most dangerous of these threats are international terrorism, violence of ultra radical movements, organized crime, drug smuggling, illegal distribution of light arms, economic problems, damage to the natural environment, and political instability, especially in the Mediterranean territory and Middle Asia. Those challenges rising from current security developments, especially in the Middle East, open new possibilities for the OSCE field presence. The first step was

[140] OSCE Field Activities: OSCE Mission in Kosovo – Overview. Internet, http://www.osce.org/kosovo/overview/; accessed 14 February 2005.

taken by the observer mission during the Afghan Presidential elections and further possible steps in the future will include a close cooperation in institutional rebuilding in the country. Besides Afghanistan, Iraq might also be on the list of future OSCE field operations, after the political and public environments are secured and insurgence problems are solved.

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# V. CONCLUSION

The position and role of the OSCE among other security organizations such the UN, the EU, and NATO will remain as a stabilizing element of the European Security Architecture. The OSCE has all of the preconditions to be the most significant platform for dialog about methods how to avoid another division of Europe and strengthen its importance and usefulness to form cooperative security in Europe. In addition, it will be strengthened in specific areas, especially in the field of preventive diplomacy, and disarmament inspections. According to emphasized role of human rights within international relations, increasing if its importance could be also expected.

According to a number of OSCE member states, divergence of their national interests is difficult to expect achievement of such consensuses, which allow creation of common universal rules for preserving of security in Europe and executive institutions, e.g., peacekeeping or police forces to enforce these rules in effect. Also in present security environment and long-term development is not expectable that OSCE member states harmonize their mutual relations and decide OSCE to be the leading organization of European Security Architecture. On the other hand, it means that significant majority of the European states would like to keep and maintain OSCE as a well-established platform and appropriate area for balancing of national interests without distinctions of size and geographical location.

The OSCE underwent a long process of maturation during almost thirty years from its establishment in 1975. It successfully fulfilled the founding commitments to create a forum for negotiations between the East and West, but its changes were significant after the end of Cold War. The CSCE experienced a transition from the forum of bipolar negotiations to the cooperative and constructive talks about then contemporary security issues. Even it was not able to prevent some conflicts o its territory, other then politically as well as militarily stronger organizations such NATO or the UN with negotiation and peacekeeping experiences, were not able to do so. A further development of European political and security environment in 1990s brought the CSCE to another turning point after the end of Cold War. Since the beginning of 1995 the CSCE

was transformed into the OSCE and it strengthened its role regarding to the security issues and its field presence. The number of the OSCE field activities and operations increased significantly from their first occurrence in 1992 until the present time. They play the most important role in implementation of the OSCE commitments and the current CiO Minister Rupel justly labeled the OSCE missions as the "jewel in the crown."[141]

In order to improve the OSCE as a significant tool of the participating States to negotiate security issues or solve different crisis by peaceful means, they must still remember that each of them is equal and the OSCE suppose to remain as a mean of choice, where a lack of the official treaty makes that not obligations but commitments play a considerable role in their relations. Even though the OSCE has not military capabilities as NATO or is not economically strong as the EU, it enforces its decisions by practical deeds according to necessary security needs. It seems that the OSCE under an effective leadership of the new political and administrative leaders is on right path to achieve its role dealing with the security issues covering the territory from Vancouver to Vladivostok including Mediterranean area and Middle East in the 21st century.

[141] OSCE, CiO address to PC, 13 January 2005. Internet, http://www.osce.org/news/generate.pf.php3?news_id=4654; accessed 17 January 2005.

# VI. APPENDICES

## A. OVERVIEW OF OSCE MAIN POLITICAL ACTIVITIES 1990 – 2004[142]

### 1. Summit – Periodic Meeting of OSCE Heads of States or Government

| Place | Date | Main Issue |
|---|---|---|
| Paris, France | 19 – 21 November 1990 | Charter for a New Europe<br>Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) signed in Paris |
| Helsinki, Finland | 9 – 10 July 1992 | The Challenges of Change |
| Budapest, Hungary | 5 – 6 December 1994 | Towards a Genuine Partnership in a New Era<br>Organization continues in Conference's Commitments |
| Lisbon, Portugal | 2 – 3 December 1996 | European Security Model for 21st Century<br>Proposal of the Charter of European Security |
| Istanbul, Turkey | 18 – 19 November 1999 | Ratification of the Charter for European Security |

### 2. Council of Foreign Affairs Ministers (CFAM)/Ministerial Council

| Name | Place | Date | Main Issue |
|---|---|---|---|
| Meeting of Foreign Ministers | New York, USA | 1 – 2 October 1990 | Statements on the Crisis in the Gulf |
| 1st Ministerial Council Meeting | Berlin, Germany | 19 – 20 June 1991 | Statement on the Situation in Yugoslavia |
| Additional Ministerial Council | Moscow, Russia | 10 September 1991 | Admission of the Republic of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania |
| 2nd Ministerial Council | Prague, Czech Republic | 30 – 31 January 1992 | Further Development of OSCE Institutions and Structures<br>Declaration on Non-Proliferation and Arms Transfer |
| 1st Additional Ministerial Council | Helsinki, Finland | 24 March 1992 | Admission of the Republic of Croatia, Georgia, and Slovenia |
| 3rd Ministerial Council | Stockholm, Sweden | 14 – 15 December 1992 | Decision on Peaceful Settlement of Disputes |
| 4th Ministerial Council | Roma, Italy | 30 November – 1 December 1993 | CSCE and the New Europe – Our Security is Indivisible;<br>Legal Capacity and Privileges and Immunities |

[142] OSCE, Handbook and OSCE website http://www.osce.org; accessed January 2005.

| Name | Place | Date | Main Issue |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5th Ministerial Council | Budapest, Hungary | 7 – 8 December 1995 | Common and Comprehensive Security Model for Europe for the Twenty-First Century: A New Concept for a New Century |
| 6th Ministerial Council | Copenhagen, Denmark | 18 – 19 December 1997 | Charter on European Security |
| 7th Ministerial Council | Oslo, Norway | 2 – 3 December 1998 | Statement on Kosovo<br>the Further Operational Strengthening of the OSCE |
| 8th Ministerial Council | Vienna, Austria | 27 – 28 November 2000 | Declaration on the Role of the OSCE in South-Eastern Europe |
| 9th Ministerial Council | Bucharest, Romania | 3 – 4 December 2001 | Decision on Combating Terrorism<br>The Bucharest Plan of Action for Combating Terrorism |
| 10th Ministerial Council | Porto, Portugal | 6 – 7 December 2002 | Charter on Preventing and Combating Terrorism<br>Declaration: Responding Change<br>Role of Chairman-in-Office |
| 11th Ministerial Council | Maastricht, Netherlands | 1 – 2 December 2003 | Strategy to Address Threats to Security and Stability in the Twenty-First Century<br>OSCE Strategy Document for Economic and Environmental Dimension<br>Statement on South-Eastern Europe as a Region of Cooperation |
| 12th Ministerial Council | Sofia, Bulgaria | 6 – 7 December 2004 | Statement on Preventing and Combating Terrorism;<br>Strengthening the effectiveness of the OSCE; and the Role of OSCE Secretary General |

### 3. Senior Council/Economic Forum[143]/Committee of Senior Officials (CSO) – Selected Meetings

| Name | Place | Date | Main Issue |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1st CSO Meeting | Vienna, Austria | 28 – 29 January 1991 | Founding Meeting of the Committee of Senior Officials |
| 1st Emergency Meeting | Prague, Czechoslovakia | 3 – 5 July 1991 | Former Yugoslavia |
| 1st Additional Meeting | Prague, Czechoslovakia | 8 – 9 August 1991 | Former Yugoslavia |
| 2nd Additional Meeting | Prague, Czechoslovakia | 3 – 4 September 1991 | Former Yugoslavia |
| 3rd Additional Meeting | Prague, Czechoslovakia | 10 October 1991 | Former Yugoslavia |
| 4th Additional Meeting | Prague, Czechoslovakia | 29 November 1991 | Former Yugoslavia |
| 9th Meeting (Before 1st CFMA Emergency Meeting) | Helsinki, Finland | 19, 13 – 14 March 1992 | |
| 2nd Emergency Meeting | Helsinki, Finland | 6 – 9, 11 – 12 May 1992 | Former Yugoslavia |
| 20th SCO Meeting - 1st Economic Forum | Prague, Czech Republic | 16 – 18 March 1993 | The transition process to democratic market economies |
| 3rd Emergency Meeting | Prague, Czech Republic | 26, 28, 29 April 1993 | Nagorno-Karabakh |
| 26th SCO Meeting - 2nd Economic Forum | Prague, Czech Republic[144] | 15 – 17 March 1994 | The transition process to democratic market economies |
| 1st /1995 Senior Council | 30 – 31 March 1995 | Challenges to OSCE principles, including the preservation of territorial integrity and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms | |
| 2nd /1995 Senior Council - 3rd Economic Forum | 7 – 9 June 1995 | The transition process to democratic market economies | |

[143] The Senior Council, on the level of political directors, was created from the Committee of Senior Officials (established in January 1991) at the Budapest Summit in December 1994 and meets periodically once a year and once a year as the Economic Forum in Prague, the Czech Republic.

[144] See note No. 144.

| Name | Place | Date | Main Issue |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3rd /1995 Senior Council | 26 – 27 October 1995 | A common and comprehensive security model for Europe for the twenty-first century<br>Organization's prospective role in Bosnia-Herzegovina and other areas of South-Eastern Europe | |
| 1st /1996 Senior Council | 21 – 22 March 1996 | OSCE activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina | |
| 4th Economic Forum | 27 – 29 March 1996 | Economic aspects of security and the role of OSCE | |
| 5th Economic Forum | 11 – 13 June 1997 | Market economy and the rule of law | |
| 6th Economic Forum | 1 – 5 June 1998 | Security aspects of energy developments in the OSCE area | |
| 7th Economic Forum | 25 – 28 May 1999 | Security aspects in the field of the environment | |
| 8th Economic Forum | 11 – 14 April 2000 | Economic aspects of post-conflict rehabilitation | |
| 9th Economic Forum | 15 – 18 May 2001 | Transparency and good governance in economic matters | |
| 10th Economic Forum | 28 – 31 May 2002 | Water and security | |
| 11th Economic Forum | 20 – 23 May 2003 | Trafficking in Human Beings, Drugs, Small Arms and Light Weapons: National and International Economic Impact | |
| 12th Economic Forum | 30 May – 4 June 2003 | New Challenges for Building up Institutional and Human Capacity for Economic Development and Cooperation | |

## 4. Permanent Council (PC)[145] – Selected Meetings

| Name | Date | Main Issue |
|---|---|---|
| CSO Vienna Group | 18 January – 25 November 1993 | 38 meetings |
| Permanent Committee | 9 December 1993 – 28 November 1994 | 43 meetings |
| 1st Plenary Meeting | 15 December 1994 | Meets weekly |
| 492nd Plenary Meeting | 29 January 2004 | Topic and date of the Human Dimension Seminar in Warsaw |

[145] According to the fact that the Permanent Council is the body for regular political consultation and decision-making on all issues pertinent to the OSCE and is responsible for the day-to-day business of the Organization settled in Vienna, Austria, only several selected meetings are mentioned.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 499th Plenary Meeting | 11 March 2004 | Recommendation to appoint the OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media<br>Dates of the OSCE Conference in Brussels on Tolerance and the Fight Against Racism, Xenophobia and Discrimination<br>Dates of the OSCE Meeting in Paris on the Relationship between Racist, Xenophobic and Anti-Semitic Propaganda on the Internet and Hate Crimes |
| 503rd Plenary Meeting | 1 April 2004 | Kosovo Police Service School<br>Agenda and modalities of the 2004 Annual Security Review Conference<br>Agenda, timetable and other organizational modalities of the 2004 Human Dimension Seminar on Democratic Institutions and Democratic Governance |
| 514th Plenary Meeting | 8 July 2004 | Projects to assist Belarus to resolve small arms and light weapons problems<br>Joint OSCE-UNODC technical experts conference on border management and security |
| 520th Plenary Meeting | 29 July 2004 | Tolerance and the fight against racism, xenophobia and discrimination<br>Election support team to Afghanistan<br>2004 Mediterranean Seminar on Addressing Threats to Security in the Twenty First Century: Interaction between the OSCE and the Mediterranean Partners for Co operation<br>Adoption of the OSCE Training Strategy for the period 2005 to 2007 |
| 533rd Plenary Meeting | 25 November 2004 | Forwarding of a draft agenda to the Ministerial Council<br>Mid-Year Review of the Year 2004 OSCE Unified Budget |
| 535th Plenary Meeting | 2 December 2004 | Extension of ongoing OSCE Mission and other activities in: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Skopje, and Yerevan.<br>Enhanced co-operation between the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and the Council of Europe (CoE)<br>Promotion of Gender Equality |
| 538th Plenary Meeting | 16 December 2004 | Extension of ongoing OSCE Mission and other activities in: Albania, Croatia, Serbia and Monte Negro, Kosovo, Almaty, Bishek, Dushanbe, Georgia, Moldova, Baku, Ukraine, and Minsk.<br>2005 OSCE-Korea Conference on New Security Threats and a New Security Paradigm |
| 540th Plenary Meeting | 13 January 2005 | CiO calls for Revitalization, Reform, and Rebalancing of Organization |

## 5. Forum for Security Cooperation (FSC)[146] – Selected Meetings

| Name | Date | Main Issue |
|---|---|---|
| 1st Meeting | 22 September 1992 | Main Objectives:<br>Conventional Armed Forces in Europe<br>Confidence and Security Building Measures |
| 49th Plenary Meeting of the Special Committee of the FSC | 25 November 1993 | Program for Military Contacts and Cooperation |
| 91st Plenary Meeting of the Special Committee of the FSC | 28 November 1994 | Global Exchange of Military Information |
| 308th Plenary Meeting | 24 November 2000 | OSCE Document on Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) adopted |
| 420th Plenary Meeting | 18 February 2004 | Overview of the 2002 and 2003 annual submissions for the information exchange on SALW |
| 429th Plenary Meeting | 26 May 2004 | OSCE principles for export controls of man-portable air defense systems (MANPADS) |
| 438th Plenary Meeting | 13 October 2004 | Migration to the new operating system and the simplified network architecture |
| 443rd Plenary Meeting | 24 November 2004 | OSCE Questionnaire on anti-personnel mines and explosive remnants of war<br>OSCE principles on the control of brokering in small arms and light weapons |

## 6. CSCE/OSCE Parliamentary Assembly

| Name, Place | Date | Main Issue, Decision |
|---|---|---|
| Founding Session<br>Madrid, Spain | 2 – 3 April 1991 | Establishment of the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly |
| 1st Annual Session<br>Budapest, Hungary | 3 – 5 July 1992 | The CSCE and European security<br>The presence of the former Soviet Army in the Baltic countries<br>New mechanisms for CSCE peacekeeping<br>Requires urgent cease-fire between the parties involved in the conflict from the Eastern part of the Republic of Moldova |

[146] Former Special Committee and Consultative Committee of the Conflict Prevention Centre constituted a forum for activities related to arms control and military aspects of security from 1992 to 1993. The Special Committee was renamed was renamed the FSC on 11 January 1995. FSC meets weekly in Vienna, Austria

| Name, Place | Date | Main Issue, Decision |
|---|---|---|
| 2nd Annual Session<br>Helsinki, Finland | 6 – 9 July 1993 | Refugees and displaced persons<br>Observance of international law on human rights<br>The former Yugoslavia |
| 3rd Annual Session<br>Vienna, Austria | 5 – 8 July 1994 | International War Crimes Tribunal<br>Racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism and aggressive nationalism<br>The former Yugoslavia |
| 4th Annual Session<br>Ottawa, Canada | 4 – 8 July 1995 | Strengthening of cooperation between OSCE and other transatlantic as well as European institutions such as NATO, WEU, EU, CIS and the Council of Europe is indispensable for promoting democratic change within the framework of OSCE |
| 5th Annual Session<br>Stockholm, Sweden | 5 – 9 July 1996 | Towards a common and comprehensive security model for Europe for the Twenty-First century<br>Priorities for Reforming Countries |
| 6th Annual Session<br>Warsaw, Poland | 5 – 9 July 1997 | Priorities for the Transitioning Economies<br>Priorities for Western Industrialized States and International Economic Institutions<br>Systematic rape in conditions of armed conflict |
| 7th Annual Session<br>Copenhagen, Denmark | 7 – 10 July 1998 | The development of the structures, institutions and perspectives of the OSCE<br>An economic charter for the OSCE |
| 8th Annual Session<br>St. Petersburg, Russia | 6 – 10 July 1999 | Correcting the Democratic Deficit of the OSCE<br>Role of the OSCE in crisis prevention and conflict settlement<br>Trafficking of women and children |
| 9th Annual Session<br>Bucharest, Romania | 6 – 10 July 2000 | Good governance: regional cooperation, strengthening democratic institutions, promoting transparency, enforcing the rule of law and combating corruption |
| 10th Annual Session<br>Paris, France | 6 – 10 July 2001 | Strengthening Transparency and Accountability in the OSCE<br>Combating corruption and international crime in the OSCE region<br>The prevention of torture, abuse, extortion or other unlawful acts<br>Supporting the activity of the Southeastern Europe Cooperative Initiative (SECI) regional centre for combating trans-border crime<br>Abolition of the death penalty<br>Combating trafficking in human beings |

| Name, Place | Date | Main Issue, Decision |
|---|---|---|
| 11th Annual Session<br>Berlin, Germany | 6 – 10 July 2002 | The prohibition of the use stockpiling, production and transfer of anti-personnel mines and their destruction<br>The impact of terrorism on women<br>Combating trafficking in human beings, especially women and children<br>Anti-Semitic violence in the OSCE region<br>Human rights and the fight against terrorism |
| 12th Annual Session<br>Rotterdam,<br>the Netherlands | 5 – 9 July 2003 | Welcoming Afghanistan as a new partner for cooperation<br>OSCE peacekeeping operations<br>The OSCE Mediterranean dimension<br>Combating trafficking and exploitation of children<br>The role of the OSCE towards the greater Europe<br>Combating anti-Semitism in the 21st century<br>The international criminal court<br>The prisoners detained by the United States at the Guantanamo base |
| 13th Annual Session<br>Edinburgh,<br>the United Kingdom | 5 – 9 July 2004 | Combating trafficking in human beings<br>Fulfilling OSCE commitments regarding the fight against racism, anti-Semitism and xenophobia<br>Torture<br>Measures to promote commitments by non-state actors to a total ban on anti-personnel landmines<br>Economic cooperation in the OSCE Mediterranean dimension<br>Serious violations of human rights in Libya<br>Peace in the Middle-East: the Georgian peace-keepers in South Ossetia<br>Protection of the holy places of Jerusalem |

## B. OTHER OSCE ACTIVITIES

### 1. Follow-up Meetings/Review Conferences[147]

| Name | Place | Date | Main Issue |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4th Follow-up Meeting | Helsinki, Finland | 24 March – 8 July 1992 | The Challenges of Chance |
| Review Conference | Budapest, Hungary | 10 October – 2 December 1994 | Towards a Genuine Partnership in a New Era |
| Review Conference | Vienna, Austria<br>Lisbon, Portugal | 4 – 22 November 1996<br>25 – 29 November 1996 | Security Model Discussion<br>Integration of Economic Dimension issues into the OSCE tasks<br>Rapporteurs report |
| Review Conference | Vienna, Austria<br>Istanbul, Turkey | 28 September – 1 October 1999<br>8 – 10 November 1999 | Review of the implementation of all OSCE principles and commitments in the human dimension. |
| 3rd Follow-up Conference on Code of Conduct | Vienna, Austria | 23 – 24 September 2002 | |
| 1st Annual Security Review Conference | Vienna, Austria | 25 – 26 June 2003 | |
| 2nd Annual Security Review Conference | Vienna, Austria | 23 – 24 June 2004 | |

### 2. Confidence - and Security - Building Measures (CSBM)

| Place | Date | Main Issue |
|---|---|---|
| Stockholm, Sweden | 17 January 1984 – 19 September 1986 | Conference on Confidence - and Security - Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe<br>Provisions for lower threshold and a longer time-frame for prior notification of certain military activities, invitation observers, and an exchange of annual calendars of planned military activities<br>Compulsory arms inspections as a means of verification |
| Vienna, Austria | 9 March 1989 – 17 November 1990 | Negotiation on Confidence - and Security - Building Measures |

[147] The Charter of Paris for a New Europe (1990) contains a decision about the "Follow-up Meeting," which would take place every two years in duration of maximum three months. The Helsinki Summit (1992) changed its name on the "Review Conferences."

| Place | Date | Main Issue |
|---|---|---|
| Vienna, Austria | 9 March 1989<br>– 4 March 1992 | Information exchange and verification<br>New communication and consultation measures: point of contacts for hazardous incidents of a military nature, a communication network, emergency meetings<br>Agreed to establish Annual Implementation Assessment Meetings<br>CSBM Vienna Document 1992 |
| Vienna, Austria | 28 November 1994 | Expanding the previous CSBMs by additional thresholds for notification and observation; and provisions regarding defense planning and military contacts |
| Vienna, Austria | 16 November 1999 | Collating of existing CSBMs<br>New chapter on regional measures |

## C. CSCE/OSCE CHAIRMAN-IN-OFFICE

| Name | Country | Duration |
|---|---|---|
| Hans-Dietrich Genscher | Germany | June 1991 – January 1992 |
| Jiří Dienstbier, J. Moravčík | Czechoslovakia | January 1992 – December 1992 |
| Margaretha af Ugglas | Sweden | December 1992 – December 1993 |
| Beniamino Andreatta, Antonio Martino | Italy | December 1993 – December 1994 |
| Laco Kovács | Hungary | December 1994 – December 1995 |
| Flavio Cotti | Switzerland | January – December 1996 |
| Niels Helveg Petersen | Denmark | January – December 1997 |
| Bronislaw Geremek | Poland | January – December 1998 |
| Knut Vollebaek | Norway | January – December 1999 |
| Dr. Benita FERRERO-WALDNER | Austria | January – December 2000 |
| Mircea Geoana | Romania | January – December 2001 |
| Antonio Martins da Cruz | Portugal | January – December 2002 |
| Dr. Bernard Rudolf Bot | The Netherlands | January – December 2003 |
| Dr. Solomon Passy | Bulgaria | January – December 2004 |
| Dimitrij Rupel | Slovenia | From January 2005 |

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